

# 'Afghanistan survived coup plot last week'

PT Bureau

PESHAWAR, June 18: Afghanistan once again survived a coup plot last week and it was fortunate that the on-going efforts for national reconciliation of restoration of peace were saved as the attempt miserably failed.

The Peshawar-based correspondent of al-Hayat Arabic daily simultaneously published from six countries including Jeddah and London in its front-page story last Wednesday disclosed that the ex-Afghan president Babrak Karmal the Militia General Dostam and former interim government President Prof. Mujaddidi planned a coup against President Rabbani with support of Tajikistan Uzbekistan and a Western power.

The plot was hatched when Mujaddidi immediately after the Jalalabad Accord visited Mazar-i-Sharif at the invitation of militia boss General Rashid Dostam. On arrival at Mazar-i-Sharif Mujaddidi was accorded a red-carpet welcome.

While on a trip to Northern Juzjan Province, Mujaddidi was conveyed Babrak Karmal's message from Dushanbe by Dostam and was offered presidency in his support to back to coup bid.

Babrak with strong backing from Uzbekistan proposed Mujaddidi that he should muster support from Pakistan, Iran, Turkey and the United States while the two Central Asian Republics of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan were not a problem for him (Babrak).

He proposed that Dostam will hold the interior Ministry while Ahmad Shah Masood, Defence and National Security. Later Mujaddidi was reported to have visited Dushanbe where he held face-to-face meeting with Babrak Karmal.

Following the meeting he flew to Pakistan in a special plane of Gen. Dostam to muster Pakistan's support to the plan but to his (Mujaddidi's) surprise he was accorded a cold response by Pakistan authorities who had at first-hand information of the Karmal plan.

Mujaddidi was told in plain words that Pakistan will not support any conspirator in Islamabad.

Meanwhile, Hekmatyar also called a reliable representative of Rabbani and conveyed to him designs of coup plotters Karmal,

Dostam and Masood.

Before the plan could be implemented, Rabbani, was likely to be killed before trapping Hekmatyar and Sayyaf. But he rushed to Meer Bacha Kot by hurriedly vacating his presidential palace.

Having found that Rabbani was out of the trap the plot and the midnight strike could not be carried out. It is for this reason that Rabbani leaned towards Hekmatyar and not only administered him oath of office but simultaneously agreed with him to chair his office in Darulaman Palace which is under the control of Hizb-i-Islami men.

Meanwhile, Dostam had a trip to India before the Indian Foreign Minister visited Dushanbe and there is every possibility of digging back the roots of the coup in their subsequent meeting in Dushanbe.

The US Ambassador in Dushanbe had also a detailed meeting

## 100 killed in Kabul mudslide

KABUL, June 15: Some 100 people were killed and many others missing after a mudslide triggered by freak rains swept away some 250 houses in Kabul, City Mayor Fazil Karim Aimaq said on Tuesday.

Armed groups took the opportunity to fire the capital with machineguns and rockets under cover of the thunderstorm that caused the disaster late on Monday, locals said.

One family of 11 was killed masse after being trapped by the flash-flood of mud in their basement where they had sheltered for protection from the rocket barrage.

There will be emergency assistance to families of 10,000 of Afghans (10 dollars) for every survivor", said Fazil Karim, who personally tramped through the mud to inspect the disaster area.

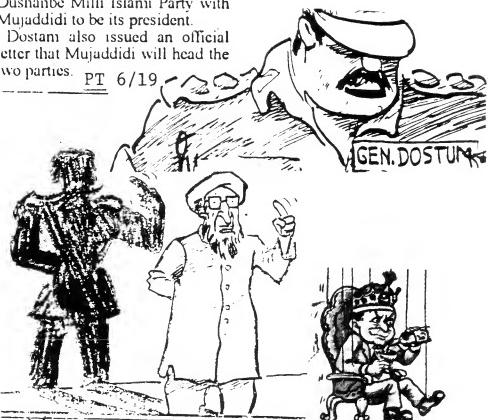
The Mayor, whose personnel were working with local security troops to clear the area, said his office would also issue bread ration three times a day to the homeless, and a commission would meet soon to assess the total damage.

The worst-affected areas were those of the old city.

with Dostam.

Both Mujaddidi and Dostam before finalising the coup also agreed to merge their parties that is Mujahideens' Afghan National Liberation Front and Dostam's Dushanbe Milli Islami Party with Mujaddidi to be its president.

Dostam also issued an official letter that Mujaddidi will head the two parties. PT 6/19



"This was the worst storm in memory," said one resident, Abdul Mohammadi, who had only one room left from his 13-room two-storey house.—AFP PT 6/16

### Excerpts from a PT article on 6/18:

KABUL, June 18: Emergency aid from the Afghan Red Crescent Society (ARCS) arrived to 217 families caught by a freak mudslide in Kabul as relief workers continued their search Thursday for bodies buried in Monday's brutal disaster.

"We started a survey of affected areas three days ago and yesterday distributed blankets, food, soap and cooking utensiles to those affected families", said Abdur Rashid Mukhlis, ARCS publicity director.

"The total value of "emergency aid amounted to 40 million Afghans (40,000 dollars) at bazaar rates", Mukhlis said. . .

Kabul mayor Fazil Karim Aimaq, who personally tramped through the mud at the disaster scene, said the death toll, reported at 113, was not yet final "because the people are emotionally disturbed and cannot give accurate information".

But the mayor noted that 350 homes had been seriously damaged, with their occupants losing

most of their furniture and personal belongings, and some 80 more homes had been destroyed.

He said 600 city employees had been dispatched Wednesday to help with the massive clean-up operation in the old city quarter of eastern Kabul. . . .

United Nations representatives from the World Food Programme (WFP) and the UN Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS), who arrived in the Afghan capital Kabul on Wednesday from their base in Pakistan, said they were willing to assist with emergency aid.

However, they stayed only a day before flying back to Islamabad.

"Without the presence of their foreign staff, no UN relief programme will get off the ground here", said one local official, lamenting the absence of permanent UN personnel in Kabul.

In the Chindawol area of east Kabul, 300 volunteers, all from the ethnic Hazara group, arrived Thursday from the capital's northern suburbs to help dig for bodies buried by the sudden, brutal mudslide. . . .

Men were digging under the huge line-up of shipping containers which are used as shops here, in hope of finding Shamsuddin's children. . . .

# Cease-Fire Seems to Be Holding in Afghan Capital

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, May 23 (AP) — President Burhanuddin Rabbani of Afghanistan promised today to seize the heavy weapons that have ripped apart his country's capital, where rebel guerrillas began adhering to a cease-fire signed last week.

Only sporadic fighting and a few rocket strikes were reported over the weekend in the capital, Kabul, after two weeks of intense fighting that killed more than 500 people, most of them civilians, and wounded 5,000.

[On Saturday, a Government jet dropped a bomb on the crowded Old City of Kabul by mistake, the Reuters news service quoted the Defense Ministry as saying. The bomb fell on houses and bazaars, killing a boy and wounding at least 10 people. The jet was trying to hit a rebel-held area on a nearby hill, the ministry said.]

President Rabbani and guerrilla leaders signed the truce on Thursday in Jalalabad, in eastern Afghanistan, after three weeks of rancorous negotiations over which factions would hold various government posts. The pact assigned Cabinet posts to the country's 10 major rebel groups.

"The main reason for the continued bloodshed is the heavy weapons," President Rabbani said at a news conference today in Islamabad. "They will

be collected from all the parties."

Mr. Rabbani's spokesman, Murad Aziz, said a commission would go to Kabul to confiscate the weapons. It was not clear what types would be removed or how they would be collected.

Thousands of people have been killed since Muslim rebels overthrew Afghanistan's Soviet-backed Government 13 months ago. Three cease-fire agreements have collapsed, but unlike the previous pacts, the latest agreement was endorsed by all the major guerrilla leaders.

Most of the factional fighting had been over who would control the Defense Ministry, which was headed by Ahmad Shah Masood. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Mr. Masood's archrival, has led the assault on Kabul, demanding that Mr. Masood step down.

Under the cease-fire, Mr. Masood agreed to resign and hand over the Defense Ministry to a commission made up of representatives of rebel groups. Mr. Masood's fighters control much of Kabul while the southeastern suburbs are held by Mr. Hekmatyar and a Shiite ally.

"As you can see, Kabul is at peace today," said Mahmood, head of the commission that overseeing the cease-fire. Mr. Mahmood, who like many Afghans uses only one name, is also Mr. Hekmatyar's commander in chief.

"Some of the fighters are not aware of the cease-fire," Mr. Mahmood said. "We are sending delegations to inform them." **NYT** 5/24

## Will kidney win Najib's freedom?

Najib, the last head of the communist regime, has asked the UN to get him out of Kabul for medical treatment.

After the Mujahideen closed in on Kabul last April, Najib tried to escape Afghanistan with the help of the UN, but the security forces in the airport would not allow him to leave. Failing to flee the country, he sought refuge in the UN office in Kabul.

Talking to VOA, the UN Special Envoy for Afghanistan Siouris Mousoris said Najib was suffering from kidney stones and wanted to leave Kabul for medical treatment. Najib has said he would not involve himself in the politics of Afghanistan if he were allowed to leave. The UN Secretary General is studying Najib's request, he said.

Last year, the UN Secretary General confirmed that Najib was still in Kabul.

The UN special envoy said seven people, including three children and one woman, were living with Najib in the UN building. They are: his brother, his bodyguard and General Tokhi, his chief of staff, with his wife and three children.

Mousoris said some Western journalists had asked Najib to grant them an interview, but he turned down their request.

The Hal-o-Aqd Council adopted a resolution last December calling for the trial of Babrak and Najib on charges of treason.

Najib's wife and children live in India. They had left Kabul before the collapse of the communist regime.

AFGHANEWS

## Renewed Fighting in Kabul Shatters Truce

KABUL, Afghanistan—Heavy machine gun and artillery fire boomed over the capital Sunday as rival Muslim guerrilla factions shattered a weeklong truce.

There were no immediate reports of casualties. It was not clear if the fighting in the western suburb of Kote Sanghi and in the town of Paghman, 10 miles northwest of the capital, had spread to other areas.

Thousands of people have been killed in the last 13 months since Muslim rebels seized power from a Soviet-installed government and began fighting among themselves for power. Two weeks of violence in and around Kabul earlier this month left 1,300 dead.

Fighting had stopped May 23, three days after Afghanistan's warring factions signed a truce. But three previous cease-fire

agreements had erupted in bloodshed, and few Afghans expected the latest attempt to hold.

LAT

MAY 31, 1993



# 6 DAYS OF FIGHTING KILL 700 IN KABUL

By EDWARD A. GARGAN

Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, May 17 — For a sixth straight day, Kabul was torn by gunfire and rockets today as guerrilla factions battled for control of pieces of the ravaged capital of Afghanistan.

Since the fighting rekindled, at least 700 people have been killed and 3,000 more wounded, according to the International Committee of the Red Cross in Kabul.

Throughout the day, troops loyal to the Defense Minister, Ahmed Shah Massoud, battled street by street in the capital's southern neighborhoods, the BBC in Kabul reported. The troops were trying to retake territory controlled by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who was named Prime Minister but never took the position.

While those two factions battled, Mr. Hekmatyar was in the eastern city of Jalalabad, meeting with representatives of President Burhanuddin Rabbani. Seventeen days of talks have failed to reach an agreement.

Since the end of the Afghan war, at least four factions divided along ethnic, linguistic and religious grounds have fought for control of Kabul.

Kabul remained essentially untouched during the 14 years of war with Soviet occupying forces. But although peace came to much of the country after the withdrawal of Soviet forces and the ouster of President Najibullah more than a year ago, violence came to Kabul, which became the prize sought by all the factions.

In the last year, vast swaths of the city have been reduced to rubble as warring factions have sought to extend their influence or capture what they believe is the seat of government.

As Kabul disintegrates into a jigsaw



The New York Times

About 750,000 people have fled Kabul in the last year.

The following is the US House of Representatives Country Report on Afghanistan. There is no date on the copy we have.

## AFGHANISTAN \*

The political situation in Afghanistan changed dramatically in 1992. After 14 years in power, aided by massive support from the former Soviet Union, the Najibullah regime collapsed in April, and power was assumed by leaders of the Afghan resistance. Most of the resistance leaders agreed to a series of power-sharing arrangements to span 2 years with an interim Government in three phases. The first, a Council under the leadership of Sibghatullah Mojadeddi, took control of Kabul in April. Its mandate expired after 2 months at which time it was replaced by a Leadership Council under Burhanuddin Rabbani. The Leadership Council was originally to govern the country for 4 months, during which time it would prepare a Pan-Afghan Grand Council (Shura), which would choose an 18-month interim Government. The third phase of the interim government was to draft a constitution, establish permanent governmental institutions, and make preparations for holding nationwide elections. This third phase was delayed several times by factional competition for power. This competition pitted the factions that formed the resistance against one another, and included elements that supported the previous regime. In late December, Grand Council finally met and selected Rabbani to continue as President for a period of 2 years. The Grand Council also reportedly selected members of a national assembly. However, a number of Afghan leaders questioned the legitimacy of the Council and the means by which its members had been selected.

It is unclear whether the successive interim governments have established any formal internal security apparatus. Many of the resistance factions, including those in the interim governments, almost certainly developed ad hoc security arrangements prior to their victory over the Najibullah regime. Bloody rivalries frequently emerged between and within these groups. Differences were often settled, and opposition controlled, through the use of force. Such tactics may still be employed by the various factions. It is also possible that elements of the Najibullah regime's security apparatus, the Ministry of State Security, have been retained by the interim governments.

The Afghan economy is agricultural, with land tenure in the hands of individuals or family/tribal groups with some land remaining under feudal control of the traditional Khans. An entrepreneurial/trading class and some small-scale manufacturing exist.

The absence of any effective central authority was the factor of greatest significance to human rights problems in 1992. In most areas of Afghanistan, civil authority was in the hands of local councils, resistance leaders, or a combination of the two. While some councils and leaders have managed to govern effectively, observers have noted the absence of the rule of law and a clear legal system throughout much of the country. Because of the weakness of the interim governments and the continued factional violence, the human rights situation changed from one marked by broad governmental oppression to an environment in which individual rights were neither defined nor protected and were routinely violated. Although the interim governments declared an amnesty for members of the former regime and issued a number of proclamations guaranteeing human rights, the Government does not have sufficient power to give force to these guarantees throughout the country. Reports of torture, ill-treatment, and extrajudicial execution of prisoners were widespread during the fighting in Kabul which followed Najibullah's ouster. Innocent civilians were taken hostage, and several politically motivated revenge killings of prominent personalities of the former Communist regime were reported. Robbery, looting, and kidnapping for ransom were common in Kabul. Members of the Sikh and Hindu communities were frequent victims of crimes and attacks, despite interim President Rabbani's call for protection of their basic rights, and thousands fled to Pakistan and India. The rights of women also appeared to be in jeopardy.

### RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

#### Section 1. Respect for the Integrity of the Person, Including Freedom from

a. Political and Other Extrajudicial Killing.—While precise information is difficult to obtain, it is generally known that political killings, including summary executions of political opponents, were common under the Najibullah regime. Revenge killings of prominent Afghans associated with the Najibullah regime took place in the months after his government lost power. Some killings were carried out by forces loyal to the interim Government, others by factions acting independently. In the immediate aftermath of the fall of the Najibullah regime, the central Government in Kabul was unable to control such violence.

\* Since the staff of the American Embassy in Kabul was withdrawn for security reasons in January 1989, the United States has no official presence in Afghanistan. This report, therefore, draws to a large extent on non-U.S. Government sources.

The report continues on the next 3 pages

of warlord-dominated fiefdoms, Afghanistan itself has become partitioned among traditional rulers, local councils and military强men.

After the fall of President Najibullah, rebel factions negotiated in Peshawar, Pakistan, on an interim Government. Mr. Rabbani, who led the Jamiat-i-Islami faction, became President.

In an assembly just before the first of the year, Mr. Rabbani was elected President for a two-year term and bid farewell to his party. But five of the nine factions boycotted the assembly and accused Mr. Rabbani of winning the presidency with bribes. He was sworn in early this year, but his formal inauguration has not even given him authority over all of Kabul.

At a Pakistan-brokered arrangement hammered out last March among some of the competing factions, Mr. Hekmatyar, who leads the Hezb-i-Islami faction, was named Prime Minister.

Nominally in charge of Kabul are the troops belonging to Mr. Masood, a former Jamiat-i-Islami commander. A Tajik from northern Afghanistan, Mr. Masood was named Defense Minister shortly after his fighters marched into Kabul a year ago.

His strongest opponent, Mr. Hekmatyar, a Pathan who is seeking to create a theocratic Islamic state and whose heavily armed army was financed by Pakistan and the United States for years, controls chunks of southern and western Kabul.

#### Other Factions Control Land

Also controlling parts of Kabul's now devastated western suburbs is Hezb-i-Wahdat, a Shiite force with backing from Iran. In addition, Abdul Rasul Sayaf, a fundamentalist who is supported by Saudi and other Arab fundamentalists, has carved out a wedge of western Kabul.

Today, under a rain of artillery and rocket fire, a dozen members of an ad hoc peace commission maneuvered between the warring forces in an effort to end the bombardment.

Defending Mr. Rabbani's Government and fighting off the other factions, Mr. Masood has refused to allow Mr. Hekmatyar to enter the city.

Kabul's population, which bulged to more than 1.5 million during the 14 years of war, has been cut in half in the last year as residents fleeing warfare have escaped to the east, to the relative safety of Jalalabad, and others to the northern territories controlled by Abdul Rashid Doestam. A former general in the Najibullah Government's militia, General Doestam attributes the ouster of Mr. Najibullah to his defection to the side of the Islamic guerrillas.

General Doestam, who heads an eclectic coalition of religious civilian elders and military leaders, oversees the most integrated of Afghanistan's new administrative regions from the town of Mazar-i-Sharif. His territory is booming by comparison with the rest of the country. It has more foreign delegations than Kabul, schools are open, farmers work their fields, roads are being repaired, and small factories are operating.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

MAY 18, 1993

The former Afghan Supreme Court Justice Abdul Karim Shadan was abducted, tortured, and killed in Kabul on May 3. Other Afghans prominent in the former regime believed to have been assassinated include: Mansoor Hashmi, the Minister of Water and Power during the Taraki and Amin governments; Dost Mohammad, a Pushtun Army officer and former commander of the Kabul garrison; Dur Mohammad Wafakash, former governor of Badghiz; Sher Mohammed Shuar, a Pushtun from Nangarhar province who served as PDPA (People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan) Secretary in Nangarhar; and Abdol Ahad Wolesky, diplomat and Najibullah's ambassador to East Germany. In addition, other reports stated that resistance forces killed about 40 members of the former government security forces who were taken prisoner on April 30. Eyewitnesses also reported the torture and execution of a member of the former ruling party in the Ministry of Interior.

b. *Disappearance*.—Under the Najibullah regime, Afghans opposed to Communist rule frequently disappeared; many were killed and others imprisoned indefinitely. Under the interim Governments, some officials of the former Communist regime disappeared; some were abducted and later executed for alleged political crimes. In addition, hostage taking was common, particularly by members of rival factions.<sup>7</sup> In June sectarian clashes between Sunni and Shi'a factions in Kabul resulted in widespread hostage taking. Media sources reported several thousand hostages were taken, most of whom were later released, although some prisoners were reportedly hanged by both sides. The Government was unable or unwilling to stop hostage taking, but was reportedly able to negotiate the release of some Shi'a prisoners (see Section 1.g.).

c. *Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*.—Before the ouster of the Najibullah regime, torture and other forms of cruel and inhuman treatment were common. Former prisoners of Kabul's Pul-e-Charkhi prison confirmed that the Najibullah regime's torture techniques included electric shock, severe beatings, confinement of many prisoners to small cells, and psychological torture. There were also reports of torture and ill treatment under the interim governments.

Some reported executions took place after inadequate legal procedures, including no right of appeal. At least three public hangings of criminals convicted by the new Government of robbery, looting, and murder were conducted by amateur hangmen, resulting in needless prolonged suffering. Some members of the interim governments advocated the imposition of traditional Islamic punishments such as amputation, public lashing, and stoning for a variety of offenses.

d. *Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, or Exile*.—According to informed observers, the rule of law has broken down in most of Afghanistan. Justice is administered locally without regard to any clear legal system. Little is known about legal protections under current conditions, and it is doubtful that any uniform procedures exist for taking persons into custody and bringing them to trial. Since there have been few Western observers in Kabul since the fall of the Najibullah regime, it is impossible to provide an accurate assessment of the extent to which arbitrary arrest and detention has occurred in the capital. There was a report of one foreign national being detained arbitrarily by Kabul authorities.

e. *Denial of Fair Public Trial*.—The new Rabbani Government declared its commitment to the imposition of Sharia, or Islamic law, and it appeared that the secular court system of the Najibullah regime was to be reorganized along traditional Islamic lines. Little is known about how these courts now operate, but there have been media reports of summary trials and punishment, including executions. Traditional, tribal procedures probably also play a prominent role in the judicial process, particularly in areas outside the central Government's control. In many cases, these procedures constitute denial of a fair public trial by international standards.

f. *Arbitrary Interference with Privacy, Family, Home, or Correspondence*.—After the change of government in April, there were many instances of looting, forced entry of homes, and other forms of arbitrary interference, some allegedly committed by forces associated with the interim governments. Much of this could be attributed to the deteriorating law and order situation and the release from jail of prisoners held on criminal charges.

g. *Use of Excessive Force and Violations of Humanitarian Law in Internal Conflicts*.—Afghanistan's civilian population has borne the brunt of more than a decade of civil war. More than 1 million Afghans have died, 5 million have fled to other countries, and upwards of 1 million more are internally displaced.

The fighting that marked the fall of the Najibullah regime and the struggle among Afghan factions for control of Kabul resulted in a large number of civilian casualties.

In June and July, intense fighting between Shi'a and Sunni forces provoked reprisal attacks against civilians, including kidnappings, beatings, and indiscriminate shelling and rocket attacks in residential areas. This fighting left more than 100 dead and 400 wounded in the streets of Kabul. There were reports of mass hangings of captured prisoners by both sides. The interim Government reportedly negotiated the release of Shi'a prisoners kept in shipping containers for several days.

In August, the Hezb-i-Islami group of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar began a 3-week rocket and artillery attack on Kabul that killed as many as 2,000 people. Thousands more fled the capital to the countryside or to Pakistan. Millions of landmines sown by Soviet, regime, or resistance forces remain scattered around fortifications and roads and in the countryside. There is a U.N.-sponsored program to detect and remove mines, but the devices will pose a significant hazard to civilians for years to come.

There were continuing security problems for humanitarian assistance workers inside Afghanistan, including attacks on convoys of relief goods and the murder in April of an International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) nurse. These problems forced most humanitarian assistance organizations to reduce their programs in Kabul.

#### *Section 2. Respect for Civil Liberties, Including*

a. *Freedom of Speech and Press.*—The interim governments declared that Afghans have a right to free press and free speech, but lacked the authority to protect freedom of expression throughout the country. The Rabbani Government decreed that all publications, broadcasts, and academic activities must conform to Islamic norms. It also announced its intention to confiscate all "un-Islamic" books, but reports on enforcement were sketchy. There are few independent newspapers or journals being published in Kabul.

President Rabbani's Jamiat-e-Islami faction allegedly used the radio and television transmitters under its control in Kabul to further its own goals, to the exclusion of other groups. A number of faculty members from Kabul University reportedly left after the change of government in April, fearing they would be persecuted for their views or previous political affiliations.

b. *Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association.*—The Rabbani Government made no formal statements regarding the right to peaceful assembly and association; however, it announced a ban on all non-Islamic groups.

c. *Freedom of Religion.*—The population of Afghanistan is overwhelmingly Muslim. The interim governments have sought to promote greater adherence to strict Islamic codes of conduct.

President Rabbani called for the protection of "life, property, honor, and prestige" for the roughly 50,000 Sikhs and Hindus in Afghanistan and declared their complete freedom to perform religious rituals. There were, however, numerous reports of assaults against Sikhs and Hindus during the general disorder in Kabul. Substantial numbers of Afghan Sikhs fled to India and were granted the protection of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

d. *Freedom of Movement Within the Country, Foreign Travel, Emigration, and Repatriation.*—Domestic travel remains severely constrained by wartime conditions. However, civilian travel between regions does occur, despite arbitrary checkpoints, the prevalence of mines, and unexpected outbreaks of violence. The airport was attacked several times after July and the control tower destroyed, making air travel into Kabul difficult.

Fourteen years of fighting in Afghanistan have created the world's largest refugee population, comprised predominantly of women and children. During 1992 at least 1.1 million Afghans voluntarily returned to Afghanistan from Pakistan. Roughly 250,000 of the approximately 2 million Afghan refugees in Iran also returned. The interim governments did not appear to restrict the movement of refugees; neither did local authorities other than, in some cases, to demand payment for transit of their territory.

#### *Section 3. Respect for Political Rights: The Right of Citizens to Change Their Government*

In late December, a Grand Council met and selected interim President Rabbani to continue as President for a period of two years. The Grand Council also reportedly selected delegates to a 200-plus member national assembly. However, a number of Afghan leaders questioned the legitimacy of the Grand Council and the means by which its members had been selected. It is unclear what steps the new Government intends to take to ensure that the political process is representative of the country's diverse ethnic and religious groups. The delegates to the Grand Council reportedly issued decrees barring the activities of un-Islamic groups, and requiring that only those "faithful to the Islamic revolution" be appointed to government posts.

Women traditionally have not played an active role in Afghan politics. This began to change during the decade of Communist rule. It is unclear whether women will be permitted to participate in the political process in the future.

#### *Section 4. Governmental Attitude Regarding International and Nongovernmental Investigation of Alleged Violations of Human Rights*

There are no known local human rights groups in Afghanistan, and the extremely unsettled conditions in Kabul have made it difficult for nongovernmental human rights organizations to play a role in monitoring human rights issues. The ICRC was forced to withdraw its personnel working at its hospital in Kabul as a result of the fighting in August. One organization, the Afghan League of Human Rights (which is based in Peshawar, Pakistan), condemned extrajudicial executions and appealed to the interim governments to establish the jury system to ensure fair trials and to abolish "secret special courts" of the type that were prevalent under the Communist regime. The interim government did not respond.

#### *Section 5. Discrimination Based on Race, Sex, Religion, Language, or Social Status*

The participation of Afghan women in activities beyond the home and fields is limited by longstanding beliefs, customs, and religious practices. In the late 1950's, Afghan governments officially sanctioned a wider public role for women, and some women began working in the government and the private sector. Girls from elsewhere in the country attended secondary schools and sought admission to institutes

## The battle for Kabul

IT FEELS lonely these days, being an Afghan. Not long ago Afghanistan was a focus of world attention. But the Soviet invaders went home in 1989, and the communist government they left behind fell in 1992. The world has turned to places it regards as more important, and Afghanistan has been left to its civil war. In the latest outbreak of fighting in the capital, Kabul, which began on May 12th and was continuing this week, at least 600 people have died and more than 3,000 have been injured.

This number of casualties over a period of a few days would have been exceptional even when the mujahideen guerrillas were fighting the communists. Much of Kabul, which was almost unscathed when it was the seat of the communist government, is in ruins. This once pleasant city of 1.5m people is now divided into a patchwork of small fiefs controlled by rival guerrilla groups. Families pulling handcarts loaded with possessions move from area to area seeking refuge from the fighting. But no area is safe. The north-western suburbs, which had previously seemed a haven, came under attack in the latest fighting. Many of the dead had camped there.

The faction which started this latest fighting with a rocket attack is led by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar. Mr Hikmatyar, whose strength springs largely from the favours shown him by the Americans and Pakistanis in the 1980s, is now "prime minister-designate" of Afghanistan. He was accorded this title in March at a meeting in Islamabad of nine warring factions called by Pakistan in an attempt to bring peace to the country.

The pact made by the nine is probably already dead. "Prime minister" he may be but Mr Hikmatyar cannot get into Kabul. The strongest force there is run by Ahmed Shah Masoud, the defence minister. Mr Masoud was the most successful guerrilla commander against the Soviet army and loathes Mr Hikmatyar, who sat out the war on the other side of the Pakistani border.

Unable to take over Kabul, Mr Hikmatyar has set up his own administration in Jalalabad, once a retreat for Afghanistan's kings, 110 kilometres (68 miles) from Kabul. Afghanistan now has two governments of a sort, neither of which has much authority.

Like the capital, the country is divided by fief. The most successful is centred on Mazar-i-Sharif, near Afghanistan's northern border. Its chieftain is Abdul Rashid Dostam, who ran the army for the former communist president, Muhammad Najibullah. Mr Dostam supports the idea of an Islamic government for Afghanistan, but gives sanctuary to former communists (although not to Mr Najibullah, who is holed up in the United Nations headquarters in Kabul). The territory he controls is peaceful

and there are foreign missions in Mazar-i-Sharif. Mr Dostam keeps a token force of fighters in Kabul, sometimes supporting Mr Masoud, sometimes opposing him, depending which way the wind is blowing.

The battle for Kabul, still a symbolic prize despite the destruction there, is likely to continue. If there is any reason for hope, it lies in the world's lack of interest. Afghans have always killed each other in a small way, and started to do it in a big way only when foreign armies, money and weapons became involved. Those have dried up. Pakistan appears to have lost confidence in Mr Hikmatyar, and is anyway more concerned with its tangled domestic politics. Being left alone for a while might have a calming effect.

The Economist 5/22



to pursue careers, including teaching and nursing, which in some cases permitted employment in the provinces. The social position of women in areas controlled by the Communist regime improved, and the role of women in some nontraditional occupations expanded. Whether the Rabbaní Government will permit the continuation of such practices is unclear.

The interim Government announced in May that it did not believe that Islam prohibited women's activities in political, social, and cultural spheres, but that Islamic attire should be worn. There were reports that women wearing Western dress in Kabul were sent home to change to traditional Islamic dress. President Rabbaní later announced that women may work but that they ought to do jobs that are "suitable" for them and do not violate Islamic laws. Subsequent to that declaration, reports surfaced of women being forced from positions in various government ministries. Women reporters on television and radio were also removed from their positions.

#### Section 6. Worker Rights

a. *The Right of Association*.—There was little reliable reporting on labor laws and practices under the interim governments. No labor rallies or strikes were reported. The Government does not have the means to enforce worker rights at the present time, nor is there a functioning constitutional or legal framework which defines them.

b. *The Right to Organize and Bargain Collectively*.—There is no tradition of genuine labor-management bargaining in Afghanistan. There is no information on any progress in establishing labor courts and other mechanisms for the resolution of disputes.

c. *Prohibition of Forced or Compulsory Labor*.—There were no reports on government edicts regarding forced or compulsory labor, nor on its incidence.

d. *Minimum Age for Employment of Children*.—There is no evidence that the Government enforces a labor law relating to the employment of children.

e. *Acceptable Conditions of Work*.—No information on any statutory minimum wage is available. Provision appears to be made for time off for prayers and observance of religious holidays. There appear to be no effective enforcement mechanisms to ensure fair and safe labor practices.

## The Ateliers Ersari

Marc Roy reintroduces the ancient technique of producing vegetable dyes by fermentation

At the end of the 19th Century, international commerce began to flourish in Central Asia, due to the Russian conquest of that region. The first chemical dyes arrived from Switzerland and Germany.

The Turkoman dyers were impressed by the new possibilities of obtaining different colours. Very quickly they invented dying techniques which were more efficient and easier to use than the old ones. With astonishment they discovered colours which they could not previously produce, or which were only known to a few people (e.g. families workshops...)

At that time, carpets were only produced for domestic purpose. They were of the highest quality and were highly decorated with various motifs. However, the new product was a commercial one, specially made for the western markets, and the old relationship between the weaving and use ceased to be a guarantee of quality. Carpets were now mainly produced for export and, by the end of the 19th Century, the main aim of the weavers was to produce as much and as fast as possible.

The artificial colours were largely used to this end by reducing the time necessary to properly impregnate the wool. Different red colours derived from the roots of the madder plant need 40 days of fermentation as opposed to 2 hours of boiling of the wool in a

chemical dye.... Now a complete carpet could be made in 40 days.

The same reasons led to impoverishment of the motifs and of design in general. This amounted to a degeneration of the carpet making craft.

Today the "ERSARY WORKSHOPS", ("ATELIERS ERSARY"), founded by Frenchman Marc Roy in 1991, in Peshawar have reintroduced the ancient techniques of producing vegetable dyes by fermentation. The subtle way of dying gives the carpets more colour variations and, over time, the mellow tones of the naturally dyed wool maintain its attractiveness.

Originally women's work, the art of carpentry now also involves men. Fleeing from the Bolsheviks in the 1930's, in order to take refuge in Afghanistan, many Turkoman families are now making their second exodus in less than two generations: The art of carpentry has helped them to survive through the years. Previously a shepherd and horseman, the Turkoman has become an artisan by the force of history. However, without shame and feeling that he is upholding a tradition in which his nation excels, he reconfirms his identity.—

Under the magnifying glass, the secret of the knot arrangement is revealed. Only the principal elements are reproduced on the

diagram. On the pattern, one knot is represented by one square. The "tipis" must respect it, otherwise he will destroy the symmetry of the carpet. These guidelines will therefore remain permanently with the carpet maker until the work is completed.—N.H.



PT 6/23

# Afghanistan's Communists waiting in the wings ?

by Julian Gearing

Parading under a nationalist banner, Afghanistan's Communists are preparing for a comeback. Swept from power in April 1992, in a move widely portrayed as a victory for the mujahedin, powerful figures from the former ruling elite have regrouped, waiting for the opportunity to strike.

In Central Asia today the contest continues between Islamic and democratic forces and Communists loathe to give up power. In Uzbekistan and Tajikistan former Communists rule by stamping down hard on any opposition. Over the border in Afghanistan the tables are turned. Here the Communists are down but not out.

Despite the Afghan mujahedin's formidable showing during a decade of war, the parties remain divided. Their victory has degenerated into an ugly squabble subjecting the citizens of the capital, Kabul, to worse attacks than at any time during Communist rule. Instead of working together to bring peace and stability, the heavily armed Islamic factions have been fighting over the spoils.

Recent demonstrations on the streets of Kabul have highlighted popular dissatisfaction with the country's new rulers. The Islamic government under President Rabbani and Defence Minister Masood stands largely discredited as it presides over civil war. The elections held in December, which resulted in Rabbani's tenure being extended by two years, were widely suspected of being rigged. A boycott by several parties meant the poll was slanted in the president's favour in any case.

Rabbani's rivals challenged the results by rocket attacks on Kabul. Chief opponent was long-time rival Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's Hizb-i Islami. Heavily backed by Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, and deeply entrenched to the south and east of the city, Hekmatyar has launched several blistering attacks against the government over the last year, killing thousands of civilians. Peace talks brokered by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Iran failed to resolve the dispute. Rather, an agreement reached in March – not worth the paper it was written on – placed Hekmatyar in the post of prime minister, a position he is unable to take up because of lack of cooperation from the other party leaders.

In retrospect, Ahmed Shah Masood, the hero of the fall of Kabul and the country's leading mujahedin commander, has reason to question the advisability of his actions. An alliance of convenience with pro-Communist forces from the north may have opened the gates of Kabul. But it has also saddled him with a legacy which could lead to his downfall. What tipped the balance in his favour, enabling him to take the capital, was the defection of the powerful northern militia commanders, General Rashid Dostum, General Abdul Momen and General Sayyid Mansur Naderi at the beginning of 1992. Yet this move was no submission to the dictates of the mujahedin. It was a calculated step by the generals to distance themselves from the faltering regime of President Najibullah and remain in the game. Grouping themselves under their banner of the National Islamic Movement (NIM) and the leadership of General Dostum, this northern force stands waiting in the wings for the right moment to inherit the spoils.

## Dostum's rising star

In contrast to the state of war in Kabul, Dostum's power base in the north, Mazar-i Sharif, is a city at peace. Yet the lines of new recruits drilling at the Qala Jangi fort are an outward sign of a military machine which is expanding and preparing for war. Today the NIM fields an estimated 120,000 troops, with heavy weapons and aircraft – a force far larger than that of the present government. While mainly composed of ethnic Uzbek, Turkmen and Tajik members of former Communist militias, it has attracted former Communist officers from the Pushtun south, as well as muja-

hedin. In essence the NIM represents the old regime's presence in the north under a different guise.

The NIM stresses the equality of all ethnic groups and adherence to Islam. But Dostum's new-found belief in Islam is a facade covering a secular, "anti-fundamentalist" outlook. The legendary whisky, satellite TV and swimming pool at his guest house in Shiberghan reflect a lifestyle more in tune with his fellow Communist leaders across the border in Uzbekistan or Tajikistan than the dull sobriety of present-day Kabul.

And behind the scenes important figures from Afghanistan's Marxist past are helping advise General Dostum. Babrak Karmal, the former Communist president who was ousted by Najibullah, is rumoured to be lodged at Shiberghan. How big a role Karmal played in last year's events is open to question. Conspiracy theories abound, though it is unlikely there was a grand plan. What is clear is that while the ruling Watan party may have collapsed with several top figures fleeing into exile, some members of both Karmal's Parcham faction and the Khalq faction have regrouped.

Foreign donors are vital to the confidence Dostum exudes. Not only diesel fuel for his tanks and trucks is delivered across the northern border. Financial as well as moral backing comes from the leaders of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Russia. Keen to maintain secularism and their own power, these ruling élites see the general as a bulwark against Islamist encroachment. In response Dostum has improved border security to prevent armed Tajik refugees or Afghan mujahedin from crossing over to stir up trouble in strife-torn Tajikistan.

Others are believed to have been crediting Dostum's bank account. Finding it difficult to control Rabbani and Masood, the governments of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Turkey have helped boost the general's standing. On private visits abroad he has been given a welcome normally reserved for top government figures. In addition, a legitimacy of sorts has been acknowledged by the United Nations, which found it could run aid programmes effectively from Mazar, after the government was unable to ensure their safety in Kabul.

Pakistan has particular reason to be interested in Dostum. Despite the turmoil in Pakistani politics following the sacking of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in April, foreign policy objectives on Afghanistan have not changed, according to Western diplomats. Trade is what matters today and the safe transit of goods through Afghanistan. Dostum's control of much of the north of the country, including the main trunk roads and the border crossing to Uzbekistan at Heiratan is of key importance to Pakistan.

Dostum has the advantage over Rabbani's government in the support he enjoys on the ground from other parties. While having pledged his loyalty to the government – under pressure they were forced to hand him the post of deputy defence minister in February – he has largely avoided the fighting in Kabul and taken to cultivating alliances with Rabbani's rivals. These groups cover the political spectrum. The Shi'ite Hizb-i Wahdat-i Islami sees Dostum as its best bet to safeguard the interests of the Hazara minority, rather than a Sunni-dominated government. Leader Abdul Ali Mazari has been vocal in his condemnation of Rabbani and fierce in his attacks in battles for control of parts of the west and south of the capital.

## Alliances of convenience

But while a Shi'ite Hazara alliance with the Uzbek, Turkmen and Tajik NIM makes sense, Hekmatyar's about-face is more difficult to fathom. This radical Pushtun fundamentalist had gone to war with the government ostensibly as a protest against the continued presence of units of Dostum's Uzbek militia in Kabul. Yet by the end of the year he was conspiring with Dostum in a coup attempt. Dostum, Mazari and Hekmatyar set in motion an attack against Rabbani in December. That it failed had much to do with a blun-

dering lack of coordination rather than the strength of government forces. Reports indicate that some of Dossum's generals blocked the move, considering it bad timing.

Despite Hekmatyar's "fundamentalist" label, he is essentially a man greedy for power. Many critics questioned his Islamic credentials after he joined forces with Khalq Communist General Tanai in a failed coup attempt against Najibullah in 1990. Today Hekmatyar has many former Khalq officers under his wing.

Several other leaders have also discarded their ethics. Sibghatullah Mujaddedi, who was brought in for two months as a compromise caretaker president when Kabul fell last year, put aside his bitter hatred of Hekmatyar – and previously cordial relations with Rabbani and Masood – to oppose the government. As leader of the militarily weak Afghan National Liberation Front, Mujaddedi is just one small piece of the jigsaw of factions in Kabul. But if there are any certainties in the ongoing power play in Afghanistan, widespread opposition to the Islamist road Rabbani and Masood have been treading is one of them. And underlying it all is the personal quest for power.

The Afghan mujahedin won a battle when they took Kabul. But they may not win the war. In Central Asia today Islamic movements are proving no match for the hardened military might and administrative organisation of former Marxist regimes. Now with the "jihad" a memory and the Islamic factions fighting amongst themselves, it may only be a matter of time before the old Communist forces step into the vacuum.

*Julian Gearing is a freelance journalist based in Thailand.*

MEI — 28 May 1993

## Pakistan expells 'Afghan' Arabs

Pakistan has begun arresting those Arabs involved in Afghan Jihad who have been living in that country without valid visas. So far, more than 50 Arab youths have been arrested by the Peshawar police.

Pakistan had said it would close the offices of Afghan political parties in Pakistan and expel foreigners, mainly Arabs, with no valid visas by the end of March.

For some unknown reasons, the offices of the Afghan parties were not closed and expulsion of Arabs were delayed.

It is said that Pakistan is under pressure from America and some Arab countries to end the activities of the Arab youths in Pakistan whom they label as fundamentalist. They are accused of having relations with the so called "terrorist organizations".

A considerable number of young Arabs came to Pakistan during years of Jihad either to offer humanitarian services to the Mujahideen and refugees or to take part in armed struggle

against the Soviet infidels. In south and east of Afghanistan, the Arabs had established their own fighting fronts.

After the collapse of the Kabul regime and establishment of the Islamic government, a small group of Arabs and some Pakistani volunteers continued to fight against the government alongside the fighters of Hezb Islami of Hikmatyar. The majority of Arabs involved in Afghan Jihad, however, saw the conflict between Hezb and government as a war between two Muslim groups. The involvement of a bunch of Arabs in the internal conflict in Afghanistan has made them unpopular with the ordinary people of this country.

United States of America, Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia are leading the crusade against young Arabs involved in Afghan Jihad. But it would be wrong to think that they are doing this because of some Arabs' involvement in internal conflict in Afghanistan. This is part of their global campaign against the so called threat of "Islamic fundamentalism".

It worth mentioning that some of

the Arab youth are dissidents in their own countries. Pakistan finds it difficult to send them back to their original countries and with the level of propaganda against them no country would dare to give them asylum.

Egypt has cut its telephone link with Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Sudan to make contact between Islamic activists in Egypt and their leaders who live in exile difficult.

Egypt had asked Pakistan to extradite around 1500 Afghan war veterans to that country. Pakistan sent 230 Egyptians to Sudan because it feared they might be killed without trial if they were sent to Egypt.

Pakistan has come under attack from some Islamic parties for asking Arabs without valid documents to leave that country. Hezb Islami of Hikmatyar which enjoys support among these Arabs also have been critical of the Pakistan policy.

Arabs with no valid document have been given till May 31 to leave Pakistan. Arabs living in Afghanistan could also benefit from this offer.

The forces of the Defense ministry have recently captured 12 Arabs fighting on the side of Hikmatyar against the government. They were heavily armed when captured. The captured Arabs are from Algeria, Saudi Arabia and Yemen. They admitted that they had come from Peshawar and had fought on the side of Hezb. A spokesman of the defense ministry said the captured Arabs will be tried. If Hikmatyar assumes his post as the Prime Minister, he would try to get his comrades in arms off the hook.

## Iran helps returning refugees

Iran will give \$300,000 for establishment of a refugee camp near Herat and help rehabilitation of power and water system in the city of Herat.

This was announced after a visit by Ismail Khan, the governor of Herat, to Iran where he discussed the issue of returning refugees.

Iran had also donated 10 tonnes of medical supplies to the hospital and clinics in Herat. Herat with a population of 400,000 has one hospital.

Ismail Khan had said return of a large number of refugees would cause problems because the government was

not prepared to provide them with the necessary accommodation.

More than 600 refugees cross the border from Iran into Herat each day. It is expected that the number will increase. The relative peace in the province and restrictions imposed by Iranians on the movement of the refugees within Iran are the reasons for the increase.

Ismail Khan had asked the UN to provide tents for the returning refugees. There are around two million Afghan refugees living in Iran.

AFGHANews 5/1

# Soldiers in search of a war

ONCE praised as heroes, they are now denounced as villains. Young Muslim men from all over the Middle East were inspired by their preachers to join Afghanistan's glorious war against the communist infidels. Now, not so long after the rebels won, their war has been ignominiously recast in official Arab circles as a training school for religious terrorists.

Security officials in Algeria, Tunisia, Jordan and Egypt blame the "Afghanis", as the Arab veterans of the war are called, for importing military discipline and expertise about weapons into their own countries' Islamic fundamentalist movements. Egypt has made it a capital offence to receive military training abroad; it has arrested dozens of returning veterans and tried 26 of them before a military court. Afghanis are hunted down in Algeria, Jordan and Tunisia. Even Saudi Arabia, which encouraged its citizens to give money to the Afghan rebel cause—for many years it matched America's covenant financing—is now trying to stop the flow.

At a time of near-panic about the threat of militant Islam, the Afghanis are a convenient and conspicuous scapegoat. Armed fundamentalists existed before the Afghan war, and would now pose a threat to Middle Eastern governments without the help of a single Afghan veteran. Most of the 20,000-30,000 Arab volunteers who came to Afghanistan and next-door Pakistan during the war worked in relief organisations or as doctors and teachers. And although some 6,000 of them did fight, either in their own units or occasionally side by

side with Afghans, most returned home without incident. Some, who acquired a taste for the soldier's life, have made their way to Bosnia to fight another holy war against the Serbs.

Yet, without a doubt, the Afghan war left a bad legacy for the region: stockpiles of sophisticated Soviet, Chinese and American weapons, and dispirited veterans with



# The Green Revolutionary

General Hameed Gul is a busy man, and although his dream of turning Afghanistan into the base for Islamic revivalism has not come to fruition yet, he seems to be working towards that end...

**H**e has been sighted in Kunduz on the Afghanistan-Tajikistan border by UN officials ... he has been seen in Dushanbe according to Russian officials ... he has been organising the Kashmiris according to the Indians ... The ubiquitous man is everywhere. He is creating a new Islamic Front as Qazi Hussain Ahmed's frontman in Kabul, he is working for the Ikhwan to bring about a global Islamic revolution and he is about to create a new political party in Pakistan. He is also believed to be ready to stand for president with the support of the ulema.

The man, always at the centre of controversy – something that he thrives on – is retired Lt General Hameed Gul. The former ISI chief, Islamic soldier, former corps commander whom General Asif Nawaz forced out of the army, the bane of the Americans, and the victor or the spoiler of the 1989 battle of Jalalabad – depending on which side you're on – is back in the limelight. If you believe one truth about him then you have to believe them all. Hameed Gul is back from Kabul and laughs about all these claims being made on his behalf. "I was just trying to help my Afghan friends," he says with an innocent smile on his face.

That Hameed Gul is the godfather of the Islamic jihad launched from Pakistani soil, there can be no doubt. In 1989, at a formal state dinner during Benazir Bhutto's tenure as prime minister, and just before he was sacked as ISI chief by Ms Bhutto, Hameed Gul aggressively defended the fact that the Afghanis had a right to solicit foreign help in aid of their war.

The left, he said, has its International. There is nothing wrong if Marxist revolutionaries fight and die in foreign lands for the revolution, like Che Guevara did in Bolivia. So why is it so appalling



bomb-making and tactical skills. A small but destructive minority has turned from religious zeal to crime, or to insurrection against its own governments.

Some Afghanis—their thinnish ranks supplemented by eager non-veteran Algerians who copy their dress and swagger—proclaim themselves a paramilitary wing of Algeria's now-banned Islamic Salvation Front; they attacked a military post near the Libyan border in late 1991. In Jordan, 21 veterans operating under the name of Muhammad's Army attacked security forces last year and were imprisoned by King Hussein, who later released them in a politic amnesty. Leaders of Tunisia's outlawed Islamic party have connections with the Afghan resistance. So do several of the suspects in the bombing of New York's World Trade Cen-

tre in February. Among the Egyptian volunteers believed to be still in Pakistan are Islamic radicals who went into battle, with travel documents provided by the obliging Saudis, after having served time in Egyptian prisons. Muhammad Islamabadi, a brother of the man who assassinated President Anwar

if Muslims from elsewhere want to come and be part of the jihad in Afghanistan? Is it their International.

Under President Ziaul-Haq and ISI chief General Akhtar Abdul Rehman, General Hameed Gul was tutored in the politics of the clandestine arming and training of Afghan mujahideen. It was during his tenure as ISI chief that Islamic militants from around the world started gravitating to Peshawar. Pakistan Embassies everywhere were given instructions to issue visas to anyone who wanted to fight for the Afghans. The Foreign Office went on record to resist this move, but nobody was listening to the Foreign Office at the time. The Jamaat-e-Islami whipped up a campaign in the Arab world and the Islamic political underground from Morocco to Indonesia reacted with fervour.

Here was a country that was offering itself as a sanctuary where there were opportunities for studying, living with other Muslim mujahids, training, learning to use every kind of heavy weapon, and fighting real communists. The irony, which the Americans have conveniently forgotten, was that the CIA partly helped fund this programme through the ISI, and even the Israelis were to arrive in Pakistan to train the mujahideen on Stinger missiles. Though Zia and General Gul succeeded in convincing CIA chief William Casey that this would create a strong anti-communist movement within the Islamic world, the Islamic mujahideen reared in Afghanistan went back to fight their own regimes in the Arab world, China and the Far East, bringing down the wrath of these governments on Pakistan's head.

General Gul has no regrets about the past and believes what he did was right. "Each mujahid was a flower and a jewel who had a right to come and participate in the jihad," he said. "They were educated people, many from American universities, who had discovered the hollowness of the West and the pristine glory of Islam in America. Some tore up their passports when they set foot in Afghanistan".

According to Hameed Gul, perhaps as many as 25,000 mujahids came to fight the war, but the ISI did not maintain any records on them. They came on tourist visas. Some stayed behind while others left. They came from China, North Africa, Indonesia and the Philippines, as well as from places closer to home such as Bangladesh and Kashmir.

They were seen as some of the best and most ruthless fighters by the ISI at the time. The mujahids joined either of two parties: Rasul Sayyaf's Ittehad or Gulbadin Hekmatyar's Hezb-i-Islami. both parties received lavish funding from the CIA, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other Gulf states. However, they also attached themselves to individual commanders such as Jalaluddin Haqqani who operated around Gardez.

Several dozen fighters from Xinjiang were with Haqqani when Khost fell in 1990, and it brought down the wrath of the Chinese government on President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's head. Moro guerrillas from the Philippines had fought with Hekmatyar against Masud's forces before the fall of Kabul. Some of them were responsible for committing grave excesses on the local people,

including raping and abducting Afghan women, a fact which has made most Afghans wary of "the Arabs", as they called them.

General Gul protest against the government's recent move to detain Arab suspects in Peshawar. "The government is kicking them out on the orders of the US. How can you pick them all up and throw them out? This is a gross human rights violation," he says. General Gul professes that all he is trying to do now is follow up on the Islamabad Accord and try to bring it to fruition. Other officials maintain that he is actually trying to bring Hekmatyar and Masud together so that they can carry the mujahideen war into Central Asia.

Hameed Gul denies this, but admits that he is in touch with Tajikistan's Islamic leaders who are now based across the border in Jalalabad. In recent months, they have travelled to Islamabad and been guests at Mansoora, the Jamaat's headquarters in Lahore. "Tajikistan's mujahids were too soft, too unready, too ambitious and they made a coalition government without the wherewithal to do so. Therefore, they were defeated," the General says.

He describes Afghanistan as "a stark naked power struggle in which it will be very difficult for the country to recover from its collapse". He says that the Uzbek leader General Rashid Dostam is now being propped up by the US and other regional powers like Pakistan as part of a wider conspiracy to prevent Afghanistan's unification.

General Gul hedges his bet about where Islamic movements are likely to take root next. Turkish nationalism, he says, is only capable of expressing itself through Islam. When Turkey sheds its western veneer there will be a great uprising, he predicts. He sees Russia reverting back to a hardline nationalist government that will bring about Cold War Two.

The General at home is the image of mellow retirement, surrounded by his children, Islamic literature, and a busy looking desk, but his eyes shine when he talks of the future that is Islam. Politicians say that he is closely linked with the Jamaat, although he denies it. He would like to see a new political party in Pakistan that fuses nationalism and Islam.

Other sources claim that the General is still receiving help from his ISI contacts and from his intelligence friends in the Middle East to set up a new Pan-Islamic political party that is already active in Kashmir and Tajikistan. Yet others say that he has revived his old links with the Ikhwan. Clearly, General Hameed Gul is a busy man, and although his dream of turning Afghanistan into the base for Islamic revivalism has not come to fruition as yet, he seems to be working towards that end. ■

— Ahmed Rashid



Sadat in 1981, is one of these. He was sentenced to death in absentia last December after being charged with ordering assassinations from abroad. The Egyptian press has received a fax, purportedly from the Jamaat Islamiya, now waging war on Egypt's secular regime, which was sent from a post office in Peshawar, the Pakistani border headquarters for many of the remaining Arab Afghans.

Pakistan's immigration records show that about 2,800 Arab volunteers are still in the country, including 500 involved in relief work among the Afghan refugees in Peshawar. Most of the Arabs have stayed out of the fratricidal wars of the victorious Afghan factions in Kabul. But several hundred are

thought to have taken refuge with their old fellow-fighters—either Gulbuddin Hekmatyar or members of the group supported by Saudi Arabia. Some Arab volunteers are said to be making trouble for Tajikistan across Afghanistan's northern border.

Deciding what to do with the Arab volunteers is hard for Pakistan, which is under pressure from other Islamic governments, and from America, to eject them. After complaints from Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Tunisia, the authorities arrested 230 Arabs in Peshawar in April and May. All but 53 of these men had valid immigration documents and were released.

Afghanis with expired visas or invalid papers are expelled to a country "of their choice"; many end up in Sudan, a place

with conveniently permeable borders. But Pakistan does not have extradition treaties with most Arab countries and will not turn over a wanted man against his will. In any event, say the Pakistanis, none of the Arab countries except for Egypt is prepared to take its awkward citizens back. Exasperated Pakistani officials have threatened to round up the Arabs and drop them off at the American embassy.

Egypt's President Husni Mubarak said in a recent interview with *Le Figaro* that the Afghans are prey to dark

From the Editor:

They met in Jalalabad; they have yet to meet in Kabul.

The Kabul Times appeared briefly. We can't tell if its reporters are writing new articles or recycling old ones, but a representative sample is included.

We are happy to publish your letters, but from now on we shall only publish letters written directly to the FORUM - not those written to UN or other officials. And we ask that you provide some substantiation for your diatribes.

As usual, almost all of the items in this issue were supplied by you; we remain amazed & grateful. We can hardly wait to see what will come for the next issue. Many, many, many thanks. The deadline for the September issue is 9/5.



forces. In other words, Iran recruits and pays them to undermine regimes in countries such as Egypt and Algeria. He argued that the Afghans are few, but potent. Others discount Iran's influence, citing the traditional hostility between Shia Muslim Iranians

and Sunni Muslim Arabs.

Academic experts on Islamic fundamentalism tend to believe that the danger of the Afghans is overstated by queasy Arab leaders. The Afghan border area is open and wild, with good communications in Pakistan and all too many weapons around. This makes it an attractive base for radical groups; at least until recently, offices for just about every outlawed Arab Islamic organisation could be found in Peshawar. But Arab journalists who have visited the area lately say the Arab radicals are badly split,

have no central organisation and live in fear of expulsion or arrest.

Whatever the truth, it is always convenient to blame outsiders for creating trouble. Some Arabs take pleasure in blaming America. It created these fanatics during the Afghan war, they say. Now Iran is using the fanatics to fight pro-western regimes. "I think the fire burns the fingers of the magician," said a senior member of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, "and the magician was the United States."

THE ECONOMIST 11 NOVEMBER 1991

## In America

BOB HERBERT

# Send Them Back?

The two boys were exhausted, hungry and frightened when they stepped off the plane in Los Angeles in July 1990.

Ferooz Ormaid was 17 and his brother, Shikeb, was 15. They spoke little English and had no papers. Within minutes of their arrival at Los Angeles International Airport they were in the hands of immigration authorities.

The boys said they wanted asylum.

Ferooz and Shikeb were from Afghanistan. Their father had been a government employee who repeatedly expressed his opposition to Communism and the Soviet invasion. One day some men came to the house and took him away. He was imprisoned and, after some months, executed.

Less than a year later the boys' mother, while food shopping at a bazaar outside of Kabul, was killed in a bombing raid.

Ferooz, staunchly anti-Communist and nearly unhinged by the death of his parents, was taken out of school

undernourished — they looked like they had just come out of a concentration camp," said Estelle Strizhak, an immigration specialist with the committee.

She went to work processing their application for asylum. In other words, she began formulating two new editions of the American Dream.

The boys came east to stay with their aunt, Ms. Strizhak, recalled. "The first thing they discovered were cheap sunglasses in Woolworth's. They were wearing these sunglasses as we went around from office to office — they looked like my bodyguards."

At the time, "Terminator 2" was a big hit at the movies. "Naturally they like action movies," said Ms. Strizhak. "One of the questions I was asked was, 'What does hasta la vista, baby, mean?' I explained to them what it meant, but I told them, 'When we're going to immigration, don't say hasta la vista, baby, to anybody. O.K.?"

She added, "They're really very lovely boys."

Ferooz and Shikeb were granted asylum in Newark in July 1991. The horror of Afghanistan is behind them.

But under legislation that is gaining momentum in Congress, their story could have ended differently.

In March, Senator Alan K. Simpson, a Republican from Wyoming, introduced a bill designed to thwart "frivolous" political asylum claims. Senator Simpson's bill is riding the anti-immigration wave that has been rolling across the U.S. since the World Trade Center bombing in February.

When his bill was introduced, Senator Simpson said, "In recent weeks the nation has seen a rash of violence that has reportedly involved aliens who entered the country under false pretenses."

The Senator's remedy is to give



Have gun, will travel

agents from the Immigration and Naturalization Service the authority to "immediately exclude any alien" who comes to the U.S. with no documents or with fraudulent documents, "unless a 'credible claim' for refugee status is made."

An I.N.S. agent at the point of entry (usually an airport) would determine on the spot which claims are credible.

This is bad legislation that is benefiting from the genuine fear of terrorist bombing attacks. Terrorists will not be thwarted by Senator Simpson's "summary exclusion" bill — they will scoff at it. But lots of people with genuine claims to asylum will be turned away if the bill becomes law.

The Ormaid brothers were given documents compiled in Pakistan that allowed them to board a plane to the U.S., but they were told to flush the documents down the toilet during the flight, which they did.

Presumably the documents were phony. But an extensive investigation has shown that the boys' story was true.

A spokeswoman for Senator Simpson was asked what an immigration agent would be expected to do if individuals arrived in the U.S. with no documents and their story did not seem credible.

She didn't hesitate. "Put them right back on the plane, immediately, and send them back," she said. □

## Refugees may find the door is closed.

by the Government and forced into the military, where he was harassed and beaten.

A grandfather felt that something had to be done. While Ferooz was on a weekend pass, he and his brother were spirited into Pakistan, where arrangements eventually were made to place them on a flight to the U.S.

The boys had an aunt in New Jersey. Immigration officials in Los Angeles contacted her and she called the International Rescue Committee, an agency that assists refugees.

"The boys were underweight and

NYT  
6/30

# Debris of War: Death Underfoot

■ With the threat from weapons of mass destruction diminished, land mines are seen as an instrument of terror, killing and maiming thousands of innocent civilians every year.

By CHARLES P. WALLACE  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

KIEN KHLEANG, Cambodia—When she was 25 years old, Yousse Pisiel was walking along a footpath to a market in northwestern Cambodia when suddenly she heard a deafening explosion and was knocked over. Stunned by pain, Yousse looked down her leg and realized her foot was gone.

"I was so scared," she recalled months later. "I knew a lot of people who had lost a leg or a foot. But I never thought it would happen to me. I was just so afraid."

There are an estimated 80 million mines in place around the world. Afghanistan is probably the worst, littered with an estimated 10 million Soviet mines of every description. But the devices are also creating huge numbers of casualties in Cambodia, Somalia, Mozambique, Angola and the Balkans.

The mines go on killing long after the soldiers have finished fighting. The first American killed in Somalia last year died when his vehicle hit a mine left behind from the country's years of civil war.

In an effort to control the spreading damage from mines, international conferences have been organized this year with a view toward imposing limits on use of the devices or even banning them outright. The biggest event, hosted by the International Committee of the Red Cross, opened Wednesday in Montreux, Switzerland.

One reason the Red Cross has gotten involved is the traditional Swiss connection with the Geneva conventions, which specify what activities are legal conduct in warfare. The other reason is that Red Cross doctors sent to crisis spots are increasingly finding themselves forced into performing traumatic amputations on mine victims.

"Land mines are a pretty malig-

nant weapon in that they will devastate a country and prevent rehabilitation after an armed conflict," said Robin Copeland, a British surgeon who works for the agency. "Warfare of this sort, where mines are left after a conflict without marked minefields, is to me, as a physician, an unacceptable way to wage war."

Last year, the U.S. Congress adopted a one-year moratorium on the export of American mines, a largely symbolic step since the United States accounted for only \$980,000 in sales over the past decade, according to Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.), who sponsored the legislation. About 35 other countries are major mine exporters.

"Land mines have become an incredible problem in terms of military pollution," said Robert O. Muller, executive director of the Vietnam Veterans of America Fund, a key lobbyist behind the adoption of the American moratorium. "The numbers are staggering and it's a problem that's not going to go away."

Poland offers an example of how mines can linger to wound a nation. It was heavily mined by the Germans and Soviets in World War II. As late as the 1970s, despite living access to Warsaw Pact detection technology, hundreds of people were injured by undiscovered mines.

Modern technology has added technical wizardry to the simple mine. The devices have been around since World War I, when they were developed as a response to the newly invented tank. Mines now jump out of the ground or go off when a victim merely passes nearby, rather than actually having stepped on them. Mines are planted with booby traps to prevent their removal or dropped from airplanes to saturate a wide area. One mine looks like a plastic butterfly, and children love to play with them—with disastrous consequences.

Recent innovations in China and Pakistan have produced a virtually metal-free mine that cannot be detected with conventional equipment.

Mines usually fall into one of two categories: They are aimed at vehicles, such as tanks, or they are directed against people. Anti-personnel mines have a particularly gruesome role—they are primarily designed to maim rather than kill so that an enemy is burdened with wounded who need care, sapping the unit's ability to fight.

"The problem is that there still is a definite requirement for mines in the military world," said Colin Mitchell, a famed former British army colonel who set up a charity called the Halo Trust in 1986 to remove mines around the world.

"A land mine is a very cheap soldier. You don't pay him, just put him on parade and leave him as sentry and go away. If you are defending an area, you need mines for all sorts of reasons."

The problems really begin after the military conflict is finished. Warring soldiers leave behind fields of mines just as a civilian population arrives to return to normal life. The results can be catastrophic.

"Everybody is the loser," said Muller. "Whoever winds up on top at the end of the conflict has a country that is un-rehabilitable because of these mines."

After the end of the Afghan war last year, thousands of refugees have attempted to move back to their old homes. But they are returning to a country that in some areas is carpeted with mines left by Soviet soldiers to protect key highways and installations; the Afghans, who fled as refugees, have no idea where the mines are.

Typically, doctors say, those lucky enough to survive a mine blast require four separate surgeries, lasting from a few minutes to hours, as surgeons pick fragments and dirt out of a devastated limb.

"There's also a psychological trauma," said Copeland, who has performed hundreds of amputations at hospitals in Cambodia and Afghanistan. "Many victims suffer what can only be described as grief reaction at the loss of their limb."

Making matters worse, in many countries of Asia and Africa, an amputee is automatically condemned to a life as a beggar, too poor to afford a prosthetic limb and unable to raise crops or support a family.

Efforts to control mine use began in 1981, when an international convention was adopted on conventional weapons deemed to have "indiscriminate effects." Protocol II of the convention banned mine use in towns and villages where there is no conventional fighting and requires warring nations to record the location of all minefields.

The problem with the convention is that it has been signed by just 53 nations. The United States signed but never got around to

ratifying the pact because the Ronald Reagan and George Bush administrations refused to submit it to Congress in a dispute over another convention.

Experts say another severe drawback to the existing convention is that it legally applies only to nations at war, not to groups involved in civil conflict. In recent years, those conflicts—in Cambodia, Afghanistan, Angola and Somalia—have been as bloody as most full-fledged wars.

The Vietnam Veterans are organizing a conference in London in May designed to begin the process of amending the Land Mine Protocol when it reaches its 10th anniversary in December. Since the United States has not ratified the pact, France has agreed to call for negotiations on a new protocol.

One suggestion is to require that all mines have a deactivation circuit, which would make them harmless after time; another would require self-destruct mechanisms.

But even a total ban, if it could be adopted, would prove little benefit to countries already blighted by millions of mines put in place over the last 20 years.

In Cambodia, for example, only one of more than 30 military contingents present for the current preliminaries to multi-party elections—troops from France—is actually removing mines. Elsewhere in the world, the work is left to local forces or charities such as Britain's Halo Trust or Mine Action Group, both largely made up of army veterans trained as sappers—soldiers who place mines.

"Everyone keeps talking about it and writing papers and having conferences, but where the real edge is needed is getting the mines out of the ground now, today, because by tomorrow morning, if you don't, someone is going to lose a hand or a foot," said the Halo Trust's Colin Mitchell.

His group has just 21 volunteer expatriates training and supervising mine-clearance teams in Cambodia, Afghanistan and now Mozambique. In the last 13 months, the group has suffered nine casualties; two of the dead were former British army mine-clearance experts.

"It's incredibly dangerous work," Mitchell said. "It has to be done by hand, the same way I did it in Italy in 1944, on your hands and knees with a bayonet probing for mines."

Mechanical clearance of mines is still not practical because bulldozers and "flails," devices that beat the ground, cannot give complete assurance that all mines have been removed.

LOS ANGELES TIMES

APRIL 22, 1993

# Afghan Vets Fuel Holy War

By Susan Sachs  
MIDDLE EAST CORRESPONDENT

Cairo — It could have been a terrorist attack more deadly than any other in this year of scattered violence, a plot aimed at crippling the Egyptian regime and creating enough panic for Islamic extremists to seize power.

So said Egyptian Interior Minister Hassan Mohammed al-Alfi two weeks ago, revealing the government's opportune discovery of a cache of explosives and its arrest of 30 armed Islamic radicals who allegedly planned to bomb civilians and assassinate 10 public officials during an Islamic feast earlier this month.

Once again, the nation's top policeman raised the specter of a grand conspiracy to overthrow the secular regime. But this time, al-Alfi charged that the Egyptian authors of the plot issued the orders from hideouts in Pakistan and Afghanistan, home to hundreds of disaffected Muslim men radicalized by their service in the 14-year Afghan rebellion against the Soviet-backed Kabul government.

As the latest accusation grimly proves, echoes of that now-ended Islamic "holy war" against communism still ricochet like stray bullets across the Middle East.

The Arab volunteers who once fought beside U.S.-backed Afghan rebels are finding new targets — at home and elsewhere — for their stored-up wrath and religious zeal. To the dismay of investigators from Cairo to New York, this dangerous legacy of Afghanistan, the last surrogate conflict of the Cold War, could reach well beyond its battlefields.

At least three of the accused bombers of the World Trade Center have strong ties to radical Islamic factions that got weapons and tactical training in the Afghan rebellion. Like many young Muslim men alienated from their societies and angry with the world around them, the suspects may have been drawn together by their shared passion for the Muslim Afghan cause.

One suspect, Egyptian expatriate Mahmud Abouhalima, spent months in the war zone before returning to the United States to resume fund-raising efforts in support of radical Islamic factions within the Afghan rebellion. Ahmad Mohammad Ajaj aided the rebels as well before he flew from Pakistan to New York City, allegedly as part of the bombing conspiracy. Ramzi Yousef, a third suspect, flew from Pakistan with him.

Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman, the extremist Egyptian cleric who is linked to the accused bombers, also visited Afghanistan several times to help whip up the religious fervor of Arab volunteers. Two of his sons remain there.

"The battle in Afghanistan became a battle of Islam against atheism," said a Jordanian veteran of the war, who spoke on condition of anonymity. That battle ended, but some Arab volunteers could not let the war end with it. According to this ex-soldier, some of the veterans continue to fight against a perceived enemy to Islam — "atheist countries around the world."

Some of the returning Arab veterans of the Afghan conflict — a tiny minority, but a conspicuously savage one — also have sewn a trail of violence in Muslim societies like Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia and Jordan. Aid-

ed by Iran and benefiting from their weapons know-how, security sources say, these ex-soldiers have given a destructive new edge to Islamic fundamentalist groups.

"We have established for certain that there is a strong and organized link between terrorist members in Egypt and an Egyptian leadership living abroad," al-Alfi said, in outlining the holiday plot foiled by Egyptian police.

The four men he named as leaders-in-exile of the conspiracy, including Rahman, all have strong ties to the Afghan war and have been calling for the overthrow of Egypt's government for years from their safe havens in the former Afghan war zone.

Many Arab intellectuals, noting that specific evidence of such links has yet to be disclosed, believe the danger posed by the Arab veterans is exaggerated by jittery Middle East leaders. But there is general agreement among diplomatic experts and security officials that, at the very least, the Afghan conflict served as an incubator for a virulent strain of Muslim extremism.

"The Afghan war gave these extremist groups a very big push," said Hala Mustafa, an expert on Islamic militants at the al-Ahram Center for Strategic Studies in Cairo. "They got training in more sophisticated arms and financial support. Significantly, considering what's happening in the Arab world now in terms of terrorist attacks, links were also forged among different Islamic movements in Afghanistan."

Arab volunteers began arriving in Afghanistan a few years after the Soviet army invaded the country in 1979 to prop up the communist Kabul government, the event that also triggered a massive U.S. and Saudi aid program for the rebels.

In large part, the first volunteers were fired up by the speeches of Abdullah Azzam, a radical Palestinian religious scholar teaching at the University of Jordan. He gave the Afghan rebel cause its fundamentalist flavor, calling it a "jihad," or Islamic holy war, that would pave the way for establishing a purist Islamic theocracy in Afghanistan.

Azzam's fiery preachings touched a whole generation of young Arabs who were too young to have fought in the many wars with Israel but were imbued with the idea of "jihad" against so-called infidels by radical mosque preachers. One young man who may have been affected is World Trade Center bombing suspect Mohammad Salameh, a Jordanian of Palestinian origin who attended classes in Islamic studies at the University of Jordan just as Azzam was preparing to leave for Afghanistan.

During the years of the civil war, an estimated 25,000 Arabs from all over the Middle East, many of them militant Islamic activists fleeing persecution at home, found their way to the Afghan war zone.

Most worked in Islamic relief agencies or as doctors and teachers. But an estimated 7,000 or so fought in all-Arab units or alongside Afghan commanders. Like the Afghan rebels, the volunteers served stints in mujahedin training camps, where American military advisers and Pakistani intelligence agents instructed them in the use of U.S.-supplied Stinger anti-aircraft



missiles, detonators, plastic explosives and heavy weapons.

The United States, fighting the Soviet Union by proxy, poured an estimated \$2 billion into the purchase of weapons for the guerrillas over the course of American involvement in the civil war. American allies in the Arab world, especially Saudi Arabia, helped pay for the resistance and organized the Arab soldiers of fortune.

But the Soviet army's withdrawal in 1989, and later the U.S.-Soviet agreement to stop supplying weapons to the warring sides in late 1991, brought disarray to the rebel camp. A Saudi activist who visited Afghanistan several times during those years said the Arab volunteers found themselves drawn into the bitter infighting between rival Afghan chieftains.

"Many felt heartbroken at the mujahedeen," said the Saudi, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "They had so many hopes that the holy war would go on — to Central Asia and elsewhere — and recapture the glory of those days when the Islamic empire was being built."

Most of these disappointed Arab volunteers did leave when rebels won the war in April, 1992, a victory that has since dissolved into fratricidal fighting among Afghan tribes. But Pakistani and Arab government officials contend that some 1,500 of the Arab veterans did not go home.

Soldiers deprived of combat and alienated from their own countries, they are accused of profiting from the anarchic conditions along the Afghan border with Pakistan to foment Islamic revolutions in their native lands.

Arab leaders also blame Iran for stirring up the remaining Arab mujahedeen. Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak charged recently that Iran "manipulates" the Afghan war volunteers, recruiting them in their training camps in Pakistan and co-opting them with money.

A key figure among these Arab Afghan veterans is Egyptian radical Mohammed Shawki Islamouli, the brother of the man who was executed for killing former Egyptian president Anwar Sadat. Fundamentalist lawyers say he is a top commander of the Gama'a al-Islamiya, or Islamic Group, the leading extremist group trying to overthrow the Egyptian government with bombs and assassinations.

In interviews from the Pakistani city of Peshawar, Islamouli has claimed credit on behalf of the Gama'a for several political murders in Egypt, including Sadat's 1981 assassination, the 1990 killing of the parliament speaker and the 1992 murder of a prominent secularist writer.

"We will continue to defend God's religion by word, logic and bullets," Islamouli declared earlier this year, as the Gama'a stepped up its violent campaign against Egyptian police officers and foreigners. "Democracy is an infidel system."

Last year, aiming to round up the veterans, Egypt made it a capital crime to have received military training abroad. In a trial of Egyptian Afghan veterans, Islamouli and seven others were sentenced to death in absentia last December for their roles in organizing and carrying out antigovernment terrorist acts.

In Algeria, fundamentalists attacked a military post, killing three soldiers and carting off a load of weapons in late 1991. Others proclaimed themselves the paramilitary wing of the main Islamic fundamentalist party, the Islamic Salvation Front, and supplemented their ranks with young Algerian radicals who adopted their militant religious zeal to mount deadly attacks on security forces.

Leaders of Tunisia's outlawed Islamic party have been frequent visitors to Afghanistan since the end of the war. In Jordan, a group of returning veterans calling themselves Mohammed's Army were arrested on charges of attacking police. They were jailed last summer, but released under a general amnesty. Another 15 veterans were recently detained in Jordan without charges.

Pakistan is now under intensive pressure from the United States and from leaders of fellow Muslim countries to expel the most troublesome Arab veterans. In response, it has set several deadlines — the latest expired May 31 — for the Arab militants without valid visas to leave voluntarily.

But Pakistani officials have said they won't force any wanted Arab war veteran to return home against his will. As an alternative, though, it recently deported some 230 Arabs to Sudan, a move that angered Egyptian officials. Pakistan now is reportedly trying to find countries that will accept the rest.

"Leave us in peace," Pakistani prime minister Balkh Sher Mazari recently implored the Arab radicals.

Newsday 6/18



Results of a (1991?) public opinion survey From "The Afghan Catharsis" in *The Man and the Legend: The Image of A. D. Sakharov in Public Opinion*, published by The All-Union Central Institute for Public Opinion, Moscow, 1991 (no author listed)

Was it necessary to introduce Soviet troops into Afghanistan in December 1979?

Necessary	3%
Not necessary	89%
No answer/hard to say	9%

Do you agree that the Afghan war should have been carried to a victorious conclusion no matter what the cost?

Agree	4%
Disagree	83%
No answer/hard to say	13%

Do you agree with those who say that the introduction of Soviet forces into Afghanistan was a state crime?

Agree	71%
Disagree	9%
No answer/hard to say	13%

Should the Soviet Union reimburse the Afghan people for the material losses brought on by the war?

Should fully reimburse the loss	9%
Should partly reimburse	11%
No, should not reimburse	55%
No answer/hard to say	25%

# Alone Amid War: Kabul's Handicapped Struggle to Live

## Rocketed and Raped by Rebels, the Blind and Retarded Care for Themselves and Friends

By John Ward Anderson  
Washington Post Foreign Service

KABUL, Afghanistan—The doctors and nurses have fled, leaving the gates unlocked and the residents unattended at Marastun, a home for the blind, destitute and mentally ill on the western fringe of Afghanistan's war-ravaged capital.

Inside the compound, about 70 men and women, most severely mentally retarded, hide amid waist-high weeds and dilapidated, shell-damaged buildings. About five months ago, in the continuing urban guerrilla war for control of Kabul, a rocket attack destroyed the administration building. The staff, from the Afghan Red Crescent Society, fled. Since then, the residents have lived by themselves, at the mercy of dangers they often cannot see and do not understand.

The rocket attack was followed by hunger, thirst and illness—then more rockets and a fire-fight inside their sanctuary that killed 17 people. Then guerrillas from one of the factions battling for Kabul looted the compound and raped the residents.

"They came in the middle of the night to the blind people's rooms, and they took my radio and my carpet and my clothes," said Mohammed Saghari, a blind resident. "They brought the crazy women into the rooms and had sex with them. They told us to go out and they closed the door and we waited outside the wall and some of us heard the screaming of the women."

Today, tank and mortar rounds, rockets and machine-gun volleys still reverberate outside the mud walls of Marastun as five factions continue the year-long battle for control of Kabul and Afghanistan's central government. The factions, part of the mujaheddin movement that fought Soviet forces here during the 1980s, raced to Kabul last year from strongholds in the countryside to replace the crumbling communist government of President Najibullah. Since then, they have laid waste to the capital with daily infighting and rocket attacks that have killed at least 5,000 people and injured 20,000.

Few relief agencies still operate in Kabul. Even those have hesitated to try to help Marastun because of the indiscriminate killing and because the compound lies three miles outside the central city and next to a camp of one of the mujaheddin factions. The only visitors now are a Red Cross driver who occasionally drops off food supplies, and gun-toting mujaheddin who roam the grounds and stare at the residents.

Armen E. Kobel, head of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Kabul, said he recently visited Marastun with the head of the Afghan Red Crescent. He said the Red Cross regularly delivers food to Marastun, and "these people survive thanks to us."

"No one will come around because it's too dangerous," said Kaka Wali, 54, whose family has lived for 16 years in a section of the compound reserved for poor people. "There are no windows, no doors, no water, no medicine."

Residents were able to recount the rocket attacks only in general terms. The compound lies in an area where there have been savage artillery duels between Shiite and Sunni Muslim factions.

Residents said they scrounge for food where they can and complained that mujaheddin frequently come on the heels of the Red Cross and steal whatever was dropped off. They said mujaheddin also stole 24 dairy cows that had provided them a small income.

A group of mujaheddin patrolling the complex said they regularly give the residents handouts.

There once were about 600 people living at Marastun, according to Wali, but when the staff left, many were retrieved by their families, some were injured and taken to hospitals, and a few simply ran away. The remainder barely scraped through the cold winter.

About a month ago, government soldiers came to tell residents there would be a battle nearby and warn them to stay in a safe place. "But the crazy people don't listen," Wali said. "They were out in the yard under the sun when a rocket landed and killed 12 of them." He said another rocket slammed into the women's courtyard, killing the cook and her two daughters.

Wali and others hid in basements, but when government forces overran the compound, they stormed one of the basements—mistakenly believing enemy guerrillas were barricaded there—and killed two more retarded people.

Today, about 18 blind and destitute men and women who live in Marastun care for their 52 retarded neighbors, with varying degrees of success.

"The crazy people sometimes hurt themselves," explained Mohammed Nassir, a partially blind man selected by residents as their leader. "I can clean an injury, but there's no dressing material."

The calmer residents lounge in dusty courtyards, sit in window sills or nap in corners. Some are capable of cleaning their own laundry and feeding and dressing themselves.

Others rock back and forth, writhe in the dirt and tall grass, or roam aimlessly about the grounds, which as recently as last year had beautiful gardens and tall shade trees. The complex is now overgrown with weeds, and fighters cut down many of the trees for firewood. Debris has clogged a canal that supplied water to Marastun, and last week a few men—most of them partially blind—were leading a group of retarded people in trying to clear a channel.

"We are in a very bad situation," said Nassir, who lived at Marastun for nine years, but moved a few months ago because of concern for his wife's safety. He lives six miles away and commutes, often on foot.

"They did a lot of bad things to the women," he quickly whispered after a group of mujaheddin walked by. "They took two years' savings from two blind people and they stole the dishes from the kitchen. We got some sugar the other day, and I've hidden it. If they knew I had it, they'd take it.

"The only way to stop them is to have a respon-

sible person out here with authority," he pleaded. "We can't stop them because we don't have guns."

WP 5/17

## Red Cross Makes Plea For Kabul

Agence France-Presse

GENEVA — Nine days of shelling have made life in Kabul intolerable, with more than 4,500 wounded there, a senior official of the International Committee of the Red Cross said here Friday.

"We cannot count the number of dead, but there are probably around 1,000," said Jean-Michel Monod, the Red Cross chief for Asia. "The situation is extremely difficult," he added. "Afghanistan desperately needs the world's attention." Mr. Monod said the shelling of Kabul had reached unparalleled intensity, even worse than the clashes last year.

The Red Cross and Doctors Without Borders are the only aid groups remaining in Kabul. The 15 Red Cross workers are keeping two of Kabul's five hospitals in operation, and every week the agency manages to bring in medical supplies.

On Wednesday, the leaders of the two main opposing Afghan factions agreed on a cease-fire and the composition of the future government, but the fighting continued, and observers in the region doubt that a real settlement will be reached.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

SATURDAY-SUNDAY, MAY 22-23, 1993



# THE MALEVOLENT SEVEN

*Seven rival mujahedin militias have devastated Kabul in a struggle for power, less than a year after being hailed as the heroes who had liberated the Afghan capital. The writer NICK DANZIGER reports on their reign of terror, and his search for a group of orphans he had rescued once before from the chaos of the civil war*

In late September last year *War, Lives and Videotape*, my television documentary for the BBC's *Video Diaries* series, won the Prix Italia in Parma. At the awards ceremony the prize was accepted on my behalf by two men in dinner suits.

It seemed an incongruous conclusion to a project that had begun four years earlier at Marastoon, a mental asylum on the outskirts of Kabul. Here I had found a group of 16 children aged between two-and-a-half and 12 – orphans, or the children of imprisoned parents – sharing a crumbling compound with the mentally disturbed, the crippled and the blind, and with lepers who remained untreated for lack of medicine. One of the children had been molested by an insane inmate, another had been beaten. A ten-year-old girl squatted in the corner of a room amid the stink of excrement and dried sweat, tearing at her filthy clothes.

There was a danger that these children would become socialised into the madness around them. I was determined to get them out of the asylum and into a safe house, and in December 1990, with money from the Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan and the Norwegian Red Cross, I helped to set up an orphanage for them. After my documentary was shown on British television, viewers sent money to the children in their bright new home. I was given a large donation by the Dalai Lama, and Red Cross and United Nations staff working in Afghanistan contributed their time and money.

A month after the Prix Italia award I was back in London. Within hours of my arrival I received a message that the children's house had been hit by a mujahedin rocket. The award and the dinner suits seemed grotesque. I took the next plane to Pakistan. In the past 14 years, Afghanistan has suffered a bloody revolution, military occupation by the Soviet Union, and civil war. In April 1992, three years after the Soviet withdrawal, the Afghan mujahedin, who had been supported by the United States, Britain, France, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Iran and China, finally toppled President Najibullah's Soviet-backed government. The euphoria that followed the mujahedin takeover was the briefest of honeymoons. Within days, clashes occurred between rival groups, divided along religious, political and ethnic lines, and by August of last year thousands of civilians were being killed and injured in the internecine fighting that raged across many of Kabul's districts.

Overcome with weariness and sadness at the news of the orphanage, I remembered my friend Amina, who had supported me through years of trying to get the project off the ground. She had written recently warning, "Don't try to come to Kabul, we are waiting for our death every minute." She had written that many of her neighbours and friends had been killed or injured. "This new war is crazy, my family thinks that any minute now we will die. Rockets, gunshots... in every breath ten to 12 of them."

Nervous but undeterred, I resolved to reach Kabul. It was the beginning of November and there were only two routes open – the road through the Khyber Pass and Jalalabad, or a flight from Peshawar in Pakistan on board a plane belonging to the private air force of one of Afghanistan's warlords. The choice was a stark one – use the road and risk being kidnapped, fly on a military plane and get blown out of the sky.

I chose to fly. But, at 31,000 feet, as the plane began a tight corkscrew descent over the capital to avoid a rogue mujahedin heat-seeking missile, I began to reconsider the wisdom of my choice. We spiralled downwards through a sky filled with the white trails of smoke from missile-deflecting magnesium flares. The flares are spectacular – the only problem is that, because some are still burning when they land, they can and do kill people.

The pilots told me that the airport's control tower had been knocked out by several direct hits. They could no longer gauge the plane's altitude accurately because the air-traffic controller refused to emerge from his bunker to take barometric pressure and air-temperature readings. As the plane banked sharply at 210 knots on our final approach, I thought that I knew how it felt to fly in a metal coffin.

Kabul airport was littered with the wreckage of civilian and military aircraft hit by rocket fire. In the almost empty arrivals hall wild-eyed Uzbek militiamen grinned malevolently. On a wall behind them was a piece of graffiti written in English, WELCOME TO A FREE AFGHANISTAN. When I tried to take a picture of the Kalashnikov-toting militiaman standing in front of it, he threatened to smash my camera with the butt of his rifle. Before the Soviet invasion, Kabul had been a quiet, overgrown residential town with a population of 800,000. In the past 14 years, as the war escalated and the fighting and bombings spread across the country,

hundreds of thousands of refugees have fled from the countryside, pouring into neighbouring Pakistan and Iran, and into the capital itself. Out of a pre-war population of 15 million, more than five million have fled Afghanistan. Two million have become displaced, seeking shelter in the government-held provincial capitals, and more than one million are thought to have died in the conflict. By the time of the mujahedin victory last April, Kabul was decrepit and overburdened, serving a population of some two million.

After the Soviet withdrawal everyone expected the rebels – the mujahedin – to march into Kabul from the hills like a liberating army. Yet it took three years to happen. And today Kabul is still surrounded by an enemy – rival mujahedin groups who are not part of the cabals that form what is a government only in name.

In the past five months of mujahedin control the city has become a charnel house. At the height of the shelling a foreign aid worker counted more than 600 rockets hitting the city before seven o'clock in the morning, at which point he lost count.

Only a handful of embassies now remain open and the rest of the diplomatic community has evacuated its nationals. The United Nations has ceased to operate from Kabul, and has moved its foreign staff to the north of Afghanistan and Pakistan. (Its local employees were paid three months' salary in advance and left to their own devices.) Fewer than three dozen expatriates, including a small Red Cross delegation, four journalists and a few missionaries and aid workers, now remain in the city.

I wanted to head straight for the orphanage but I couldn't find a taxi driver who would take me to Kushal Khan, where the children's home was situated.

Instead I went in search of Amina, who, because she is a nurse, might have been able to provide us with a safe passage into the area. Getting across Kabul is a difficult and dangerous task. Roadblocks are numerous. There are no public buses – they have all been stolen and taken to Pakistan. Only one of the city's two tramlines works, and then only half-hourly during daylight hours (the 14-year-old curfew remains in force). Taxi drivers cannot travel from one neighbourhood to the next. They accept fares only to areas controlled by their own ethnic group because many districts have been "ethnically cleansed".

On a three-mile avenue on the way to Amina's home in the district of Kotai Sangi there were four rival mujahedin groups. They have nothing in common except for the sophisticated arsenal of weapons they possess and their deep hatred of each other. There is no law and order other than the one imposed by the armed mujahedin, many of whom are not old enough to shave.

After we had passed the third checkpoint, my taxi driver for the first stage of the journey said by way of explanation, "We might not have a central government, but we have one on each street corner."

At the entrance to Kotah Sangi I was stopped at a checkpoint hung with a portrait of the late Ayatollah Khomeini. A young boy with a rocket-propelled grenade-launcher in his hand questioned me, "Are you a journalist or a terrorist?"

"Sorry?" I asked, confused. He repeated the question. I think he meant tourist, not terrorist. I wasn't allowed to proceed without an armed escort consisting of two young men and a teenager with enough weaponry to fend off a small army. This Iranian-backed mujahedin group was afraid of being ambushed by a rival group funded from Saudi Arabia.

I couldn't find Amina's home among the rubble of houses hit by rocket attacks. Only a handful of the inhabitants of this once busy middle-class neighbourhood of 25,000 families had stayed on; the rest had fled. In the deserted lanes and alleyways a ghostly silence was punctuated by the crackle of machine-gun fire and the occasional lone thud of a stray rocket - a reminder that the enemy is never far away. In Kotah Sangi not a house, business or shop has escaped the ravages of war. In each abandoned house I entered, not one carpet, piece of furniture, light bulb or door knob remained; what had not been destroyed in battle had been looted in its aftermath.

I searched for Amina in the hospitals. Some hospitals were forced to close because the doctors and nurses had fled or were unable to pass the road blocks. The maternity hospital had closed after a rocket attack. There were no intravenous fluids in the children's hospital and patients unable to pay for their treatment were not admitted.

On previous visits to Afghanistan during the past ten years, I had witnessed wanton destruction of villages by the Soviet and Afghan government air forces, but never had I seen devastation carried out in Kabul on such a scale, and with such venom.

Whole areas of the city seem empty palaces and gardens have been demolished. The former King Zahir Shah's collection of classic cars, once estimated to be worth more than \$1 million (in a country where a government employee earns \$4 a month) has been destroyed. Those cars not damaged by rocket fire have been systematically torn apart; a Rolls-Royce dating from before the Second World War is now a sad shadow of its former self. A royal mausoleum and military graveyard on top of a strategic hill is now an artillery base for a mujahedin group to launch attacks on its enemies. These mujahedin sleep and cook on the sarcophagi in the mausoleum's catacombs.

Cinemas have been closed. Hindi films banned from the television, and women stopped from reading the news because, according to a local mulah, "They distract men." In addition, all women must now wear the veil in public. None the less, some mujahedin leaders and commanders have installed satellite television. MTV, World Wrestling Federation and Anneka Rice's programmes are favourites.

On my search for Amina I found one of her best friends, who told me that Amina had fled with her family to Peshawar in Pakistan several weeks earlier. Expecting me to return to Kabul, she had left a letter in which she wrote of a father who had shot his daughter before the mujahedin could rape her. Fearing that she herself might be raped by men in the armed groups fighting for control of her district, Amina wrote, "I would rather they kill me, it is better to die before these sufferings, but now I just wish and dream that one day I can fly like a bird to anywhere except my own country."

Without Amina, I now returned to the purpose of my visit. I discovered that, unlike the local population, foreigners can still cross most of the city's ethnic divides. I had no trouble in reaching the orphanage, but anxiety had welled up inside me since the phone call in London. Would the children be safe and alive?

The long alleyway shaded by 100-year-old trees which led to the children's house had once been the most beautiful in Kabul. But all the trees had now been felled for firewood or to construct mujahedin checkpoints. Worse was to follow. The house had received a direct hit and several rockets had exploded in the garden. Glass littered the

rooms, and one wall had a gaping hole where a rocket had slammed into the building. The children's beds had been stolen by the mujahedin. I was told that one of the children had died. The rest were safe, but in late summer they had been moved back to Marastoon, the mental asylum where I had first found them.

I walked the short distance from the orphanage to the mental asylum. I had been told that armed mujahedin guarded Marastoon's entrance. There was no one in sight. As I walked up to the fort-like walls that surround the asylum, the place seemed deserted. I prepared myself for the shock of seeing the children once again amongst the mad people. My arrival brought some of the inmates and the children to the entrance's iron gates. It had been nearly a year since I had last seen them. The children recognised me immediately, and began to shout my name: "Nick! Nick! Nick!"

My immediate concern for these orphans, and for others living nearby, all of them dressed in rags and unable to wash properly for lack of water and electricity, was that they would not survive the sub-zero winter.

I was overwhelmed by the hopelessness of it all. A safe house had been set up for some of Afghanistan's neediest children only to be bombed by their own people. The temptation was to give up, go home, let history take its course. I thought of the horrors that have overtaken Somalia, Bosnia and Angola. But Sattar, Gunja and the other children are not just names, not just statistics of a forgotten people in a forgotten country. I found it impossible to turn my back on the orphans. Once again I began the whole process to find an organisation that would take care of them and



Above: Afghanistan's defence ministry, formerly a palace, has been devastated in the fighting  
Photographs by Nick Danziger/Contact Colorific

attend to their immediate needs.

I approached the few international organisations left in Kabul. The Red Cross immediately provided a wheelchair for a paraplegic child who, unable to walk, had remained in the same spot in the asylum for months. One of their engineers also set about reactivating a disused well for water. But other organisations were not so forthcoming. One international aid worker who was aware of the orphanage had failed to visit it, citing security fears – although the fighting had ceased in this area two months before. His main concern was for his supply of whisky, which had dried up. Another aid worker (who was dressed in khaki and would have been difficult to tell apart from the mujahedin except for his blond hair) said that helping the orphans was beyond his organisation's mandate. He told me, "I will put some paperwork together, in a style donors understand."

Finally, the head of a non-governmental organisation based in Geneva said it would take his charity three months to agree to provide the personnel to put a plan into action, but he could provide the children with the basic necessities immediately.

The children's long-term future is bleak. Aminullah, a translator, explained the political situation: "It is like living in a forest with wild animals who have carved out their own territory. For the moment the groups co-exist, but it is always possible that they might pounce on one another." Two weeks later, the fighting flared up again, and local people began expressing fears about fuel and food shortages in the city this winter.

Among the citizens of Kabul, there is already nostalgia for the deposed President Najibullah, nicknamed "the Ox". Salim, a shopkeeper and former mujahedin supporter, told me about the horrors of a public hanging in Central Park: one man was hanged by his neck for 30 minutes before he died. "President Najibullah might have been a Communist but he has shown more concern for his people than the seven mujahedin tyrants who are jostling for power."

On a main street in Kabul a piece of daring graffiti reads: BRING BACK OUR OWN, GET RID OF THE SEVEN DONKEYS. •

THE INDEPENDENT MAGAZINE 23 JANUARY 1993

## Tragedy of Kabul University

# Government adopts open cultural policy

Women newscasters have reappeared on the screen of Kabul television.

Some months ago, the government banned the appearance of women newscasters on television under pressure from some political parties.

The television is also allowing more entertainment programs such as dramas and songs.

The restrictions imposed on television and radio artists forced some of them to leave Kabul and seek jobs in Peshawar or Mazar-i-Sharif, where they had an opportunity to continue their work.

As a result of the opening up the government cultural policy, the radio and television programs have become more interesting.

Both radio and television did a good job in keeping the people informed about developments during the meetings of Hal-o-Aqd Council and the first anniversary of the Islamic Revolution.

The Kabul television must improve the quality of its programs further to be able to compete with the video.

AFGHANews May 1, 1993

A group of professors of the Kabul University have launched a campaign to reopen the university, which has remained closed since the fall of the communist regime last April.

A committee formed by these professors has begun to hold discussions with government officials and leaders of factions to facilitate reopening of the university.

Kabul University is under control of Hezb

eo shops and considerable number of newly smuggled satellite dishes.

One year after the establishment of the Islamic government, a cinema house in Kabul has begun to show movies.

Cinema Milli, located at the center of town, reopened on March 19.

The Minister of Information and Culture Mohammad Seddique Chakari told reporters that the cinema houses in the capital stopped showing films due to security hazards and technical problems. No ideological considerations were involved in closing them, he said.

He said a censorship board has been established to make sure the films do not contradict Islamic values and traditional norms of Afghan society.

Seddiquah Barnak, the head of the Afghan Films Department, told Balkhier New Agency that he is working on three new films depicting the historic struggle of Afghans against the Soviet invaders.

He said Afghan Films will also import films from foreign countries. The imported films have to have a message for humanity, he added.

There are 14 cinema houses in Kabul. One has begun to show films and another one is preparing to resume its daily shows very soon.

Wahdat (a radical pro-Iran Shia party which clashed with the government in December, January and February). Its buildings need major repairs. The government also has to provide chairs, tables, blackboards, books and other needed facilities which have been stolen or destroyed since the fall of the old regime.

The first step towards reopening the university is to get the gammons off the university campus and make sure that roads leading to the university are safe for teachers and students. The committee is trying to persuade the parties to declare the university a non-military zone. . . .

The government is eager to open the university.

AFGHANews

May 1, 1993

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

THE AFGHANISTAN STUDIES JOURNAL, Vol. 3, 1992, is available from the Center for Afghanistan Studies, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, NE 68182-0006, for \$9.

Articles in the 80-page issue include "Political Advocacy in 20th Century Afghan Persian Poetry" by Senzil Nawid; "Habibullah's Last Letter to the British Gov't" by S.Q. Reshtia; "Ella Maillart's 'The Cruel Way'" by K.C. Beyer; "The Afghan Odyssey of an Indian Revolutionary" by Ludwig Adamec; "Return of Talent: Examination of an Attempt to Restore the Professional Human Resources Base of Afghanistan" by Stafford Hemmer; "A Day to Remember: Oct. 25, 1965" by Allen Merriam & "Kabuli Afghans" by Tom Gouttierre. The issue also includes book reviews, photos, proverbs & calligraphy.

THE AFGHAN SYNDROME - THE SOVIET UNION'S VIETNAM by Maj. Gen. Oleg Sarin & Col. Lev Dvoretsky. Presidio Press, 505B San Marin Drive, Suite 300, Novato, CA 94945-1340. 195 pp. \$30.

DUST OF THE SAINTS by Radek Sikorski, published by Chatto & Windus in 1989, is available in the US from Menas Books, Kingston Press, P.O. Box 2759, Clifton, NJ 07015. 274 pp.

From CEREDAF, 12 Rue de Cotte, 75012 Paris: LES AVENTURES DU MOLLÀ NASR-ODDIN, 60 tales with text in calligraphy (by Hamed Khosrawi) & translation (by A. Perny). 68 pp. illus. 48 FF + postage.

AFGHAN EMBROIDERY, published in Pakistan for UNHCR & the Musee de l'Homme, has text by Bernard Dupaigne & Françoise Cousin & color photographs by Roland Paiva.

From the Islamic Foundation Publications Unit, Unit 9, The Old Dunlop Factory, 62 Evington Valley Road, Leicester LE5 5LJ, United Kingdom:

MUSLIMS IN CENTRAL ASIA & RUSSIA by M. Iqbal Khan. 28pp. & ISLAMIZATION OF CENTRAL ASIA - A CASE STUDY OF UZBEKISTAN by Diloram Ibrahim. 32 pp. Each £1.50 + .90 p postage.

POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT & WOMEN IN AFGHANISTAN by Hafizullah Emadi, New York: Paragon House, 90 Fifth Avenue, NY 10011. 160 pp. \$36.95. ISBN 1-55778-582-1.

"An investigation of the subordination of women with coverage of gender relations, the role of the state & its policies concerning the involvement of women in its economic life. Includes an historical perspective comparing the women's movement prior to & during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan." [From the advertisement.]

"Post-Cold War State Disintegration: The Failure of Int'l Conflict Resolution in Afghanistan" by Barnett Rubin in the winter issue of the JOURNAL OF INT'L AFFAIRS. Prof. Rubin has two other manuscripts in preparation: MIRROR OF THE WORLD: AFGHANISTAN'S STATE & SOCIETY IN THE INT'L SYSTEM, & FROM REGIONAL CONFLICT TO STATE DISINTEGRATION: THE FAILURE OF INT'L CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN AFGHANISTAN.

The following publications were noted in the ARIC BULLETIN, #IV/5, May 1993:  
"A Framework for Achieving Gender Equity in Afghan Education: Policy Analysis & Recommendations" by Nagat El-Sanabary, Creative Associates Int'l, Washington, D.C. 1993. 26 pp, tables, map.

"Decree #7: Dowry & Marriage Expenses: An Attempt to Limit Marriage Payments in Afghanistan" by Paul Ickx, Leuven, 1992. 92 pp., maps.

"Land of Canyon: Notes on a Journey to Afghanistan" (in Farsi) by Shahabuddin Farkhyar, Islamic Culture Publication, Tehran, 1992. 288 pp. ♦ 38 pp. photos.

"My Search for the Friend I Left Behind" by Tony O'Brien, condensed from LIFE in the June, 1993 READER'S DIGEST. Pp 158-162.

The Agricultural Dept. of the SWEDISH COMMITTEE FOR AFGHANISTAN, P.O. Box 689, Peshawar, has issued Parts I, III & IV of the FARMING SYSTEMS SURVEY for the Shulgara District of Balkh, Mehterlam in Laghman & Maydan Shar in Wardak.

## BOOK REVIEWS

BARTERED BRIDES: POLITICS, GENDER AND MARRIAGE IN AN AFGHAN TRIBAL SOCIETY by Nancy Tapper. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. xx; +309 pp; illus., figures, maps; #74 in Cambridge Studies in Social & Cultural Anthropology. \$54.50.

The meticulous research presented in this volume centers around the thesis that since the household is the basic unit, a knowledge of the institution of marriage is essential to an understanding of the social, economic and political dynamics of a community and its broader regional relationships. This study is unique in the literature on Afghanistan and contains many insights relevant to the future.

Dr. Tapper, a member of the faculty of London's School of Oriental & African Studies, draws from an intimate knowledge of those she describes. Her fieldwork was conducted during the 1970s in Afghan Turkestan among a subtribe, here identified by the pseudonym Maduzai, of the Ishaqzai, a major tribe of the Durrani Pushtun. With this experience she combines an intense utilization of academic expertise in the discipline of anthropology.

Dr. Tapper's analysis of the Maduzai as a specific Afghan tribal society numbering 272 households (ca. 1,900 persons) traces 50 years of their history after the first group moved north in 1915 from their homeland near Kandahar. The Maduzai acquired lands some 15 kilometers north of Saripul in Jauzjan Province where they established winter settlements complete with mud housing; by the 1970s scarcely half the population made the move with their flocks to summer pastures in the central mountains of the Hazarajat.

A comprehensive introductory section describes the regional background of this ethnically mixed region where groups of Uzbek, Hazara, Baluch, Arab and Sayyed engaged in fierce inter-ethnic competition for control of productive land. Maduzai interactions with these communities figure largely in subsequent descriptions of the complexities involving marriage negotiations.

Ten case studies heighten the discussions on marriage as an institution central to the understanding of the society. These include incidents of elopement, exchange marriages and divorce, as well as descriptions of local prostitution facilities and the means by which women use spirit possession to circumvent established rules of social behavior. Details related to rituals and ceremonies associated with marriage highlight discussions on the significance of such occasions as public statements about household standing within their own communities, and their relevance in broader political contexts.

The complexities of marriage choice involve large numbers of people in many kinds of social activities within the three categories - compensation, recognition and exchange marriages - which serve as devices for expressing a wide variety of needs such as: establishing individual identity; fostering group solidarity; confirming social status; enhancing wealth and power; manipulating economic and political competition; proclaiming economic and political standing, sustaining social order; maintaining the stability of social forms; increasing control over productive and reproductive resources; resolving disputes and compensating for injury and death.

Marriages also reflect changes in social, economic and political status. According to Dr. Tapper's findings, it was evident by the 1970s that because of political and economic competition, social rank was increasingly being determined by inherited wealth and land which at times necessitated forging links between unrelated and previously unconnected groups. This represented a distinct break with the

# ORGANIZATIONS

AFGHANISTAN RECONSTRUCTION SUPPORT COMMITTEE (formerly Human Rights in Afghanistan Committee), P.O. Box 18, Westmont, IL 60559. (708-416-2003)

The Human Rights in Afghanistan Committee was founded in 1983 to document human rights violations by Soviet/Afghan forces after the Soviet occupation in late December 1979. To recognize the shift today to indigenous rule in Afghanistan & our desire to participate in the reconstruction process, it was decided to change the name of the group to that listed above - ARSC. We shall continue to advocate respect for human rights in Afghanistan, in addition to supporting education, health & social welfare.

The Women's Task Force of ARSC began an Afghan Women's Information Network last year. Persons with expertise & experience relating to Afghan women were invited to join the Network & submit their current resumes. The Task Force has a growing resource file on Afghan women & would welcome hearing from anyone who is interested in the project.

## Louis Dupree Prize for Research on Afghanistan and/or Central Asia

A prize of \$2,500 will be awarded for the most promising dissertation involving field research in Afghanistan and/or Central Asia, including Azerbaijan, Kirghizia, Mongolia, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.

Only candidates who receive a dissertation research fellowship under competitions administered through a relevant program (China, Near and Middle East, South Asia, Soviet Union and Its Successor States, and SSRC-MacArthur Foundation Fellowships on Peace and Security in a Changing World) will be eligible to apply.

The prize is intended to enrich the individual's field experience by making possible a longer stay or more extensive travel within the region. Candidates who wish to be considered for this prize should so indicate on their fellowship applications.

Applications should be sent to the Dupree Prize, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158.

The South Asia Council of the ASSOCIATION FOR ASIAN STUDIES is soliciting proposals for panels on the area for future AAS Annual Meetings. There have been no panels on Afghanistan for several years. Scholars interested in proposing a panel should contact Kathryn Hansen, Dept. of Asian Studies, 1871 West Mall, Univ. of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2 Canada. (604-822-3881) (Panel organizers should be members of the AAS.) The 1994 Annual Meeting will be held in Boston from March 24-27.

[They need a proofreader!] [

## TEXTILESOCIETYCONFERENCE CALLFORPAPERS

The Textile Society of America will hold its fourth biennial symposium September 22-24, 1994 in Los Angeles, California. Its theme will be "Contact, Crossover, Continuity," encompassing all textiles that have been subjected to external influence and exist subsequently in an altered form. The deadline for abstracts is December 1, 1993. For additional information contact Patricia Anawalt or Louise W. Mackie, TSA 1994, Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles CA 90024. AAS Bulletin

Vol. 38 #3

AFGHANews 6/1



**President Rabbani has issued a directive to Afghan embassies abroad to issue passports to all those Afghans who left the country before the fall of the communist regime and who want to return to visit their families. These people will be allowed to leave the country if they wish. The visitors will not face any legal prosecution for their past actions.**

July August 1993						
		دوستی		دشمنی		
THU	WED	TUE	MON	SUN	SAT	FRI
29	V	28	1	2	3	4
3	V	4	11	12	13	14
10	V	11	18	19	20	21
17	V	18	25	26	27	28
24	V	25	32	1	2	3
31	V	1	8	9	10	11
اسناد اسناد						

past when the ideal of differentiating themselves from competing local groups was assisuously maintained through the control of in-group marriages. With pressures on productive resources increasing, however, marriages were more frequently being used to facilitate the appropriation of land rather than to express status.

In seeking explanations as to why marriages affect such a multiplicity of functions, recurring themes focus on the ideology of control, embedded in beliefs of honor and shame, and the consequent perception of women's roles. Male prestige was equated with honor, which in turn depended upon a man's ability to control both material and human resources, among which the control of women in the household was paramount.

Since the dual concepts of male prestige and family honor were so heavily dependent on women, women's roles necessarily followed defined patterns. Domestic activities stressing child socialization lay within the female sphere leaving control of politics and economic production ideally as male perogatives. In reality, however, there was a noticeable sharing of ideas and responsibilities and individual charisma could surmount conventional roles. Indeed, some women evidenced considerable power in arranging marriages and determining household strategies, both political and economic. Some were ruthlessly ambitious.

In addition, since the construction of male reputations, notably their honor, ultimately depended upon the good behavior of women, women derived some power from their ability to damage male prestige through nonconformist activities. This could express itself in many ways, from simply failing to provide adequate hospitality through poorly prepared meals to a lack of rectitude within the home. Any such evidence of independent female action was regarded as evidence of a loss of male control which could be met with ridicule and ostracism and result in long-term effects, including reduction to poverty and the utter ruin of a family's standing within the community.

Therefore, since men must assume ultimate responsibility for the guardianship of all aspects of a woman's behavior, devices such as seclusion and segregation were rigorously applied and punishments for moral transgressions were severe. Public reprimands, however, were inflicted to vindicate male honor rather than chastise female moral errors for female misconduct could be largely overlooked unless it became a matter of public knowledge. As Dr. B. Glatzer has written in regard to another nomadic group in Afghanistan: "A shame which nobody talks about is no shame."

Nevertheless, an innate belief in male superiority provided an ideological basis for the acceptance of all manipulations of control. This made women almost totally dependent on men. Furthermore, the social interactions of the community as a whole precluded women from constructing identities for themselves and the absence of divorce, or indeed any alternative strategies outside the extended family, consigned women to the conventional roles of supportive wife, fond mothers and diligent hostesses. Also, because they lacked outside options, their own best interests lay in loyalty to their husbands and marital homes.

Discussions providing examples of how increasing pressures on economic resources led to a tightening of men's control of women raise questions as to how new pressures, imposed by 15 years of war, will necessitate further adjustments once repatriation is achieved. For instance, although Islamic instructions regarding widow inheritance and orphan rights were recognized, they were not exercised: widows were guaranteed no claims outside maintenance by their husband's family. Current war mortalities, however, have left an unprecedented number of widows with and without minor children whose care will fall to the institution of the extended family. What will happen should this pillar institution become so sorely strained that it

falters?

Numerous considerations of a similar nature should be of interest to those entrusted with reconstruction to whom Bartered Brides is highly recommended.

Nancy Hatch Dupree  
Peshawar, Pakistan

---

RHETORIC AND POLITICS IN AFGHAN TRADITIONAL STORYTELLING by Margaret Mills. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991. xi + 388 pp. (From THE JOURNAL OF ASIAN STUDIES, Vol. 52, #2, May 1993.)

In 1974, Margaret Mills went to Herat, in northwest Afghanistan, as a Ph.D. candidate researching "traditional oral narrative performance." Unpracticed in the local dialect of Persian, "feeling very tongue tied and understanding perhaps 20 percent of the speech" around her, she found her way—accompanied by a research assistant—to the village of Gim. There she spent an evening and a morning recording two storytellers at the home of the district subgovernor, a "forward-looking" Marxist. Her host, she later learned, had recently jailed for tax evasion one of the storytellers: the Akhond, an Islamic clergyman with whom he had profound ideological differences.

It comes as no surprise, then, that "something odd was going on" in the storytelling session that Mills recorded. It is to her great credit, and to her readers' good fortune, that she persevered in producing a wonderful and evocative translation of this performance, now almost two decades past. Mills's English-rendering succeeds in being at once readable and flavorful, while evidently literal and extensively annotated.

Many of the stories Mills so engagingly presents here are blatantly bawdy and exquisitely funny. It so happens that the first time I picked up Mills's book, nursing no hope of being entertained by Afghan rhetorics, I flipped to a passage from "Rasil's Mother." Soon I was laughing very hard. The aging male storyteller portrays an old woman recalling her experiences as an ignorant newlywed. Her groom, a first cousin, has placed her on a bed in a "deserted room." No short extract can do justice to this extended humorous encounter, but a few lines may convey something of the teller's, and the translator's, artistry.

He comes slip-sliding along toward me.

I said, "Cousin—"

He said, "Yes."

I said, "If you're going to relieve yourself, then the room door is *that way*."  
[*muffled laughter*]

"Where's the way to get through here?"

[*muffled laughter*]

The mosque door isn't here!

[*audience laugh*]

The donkey door isn't here, the sheep-pen door isn't here!

You bastard, where are you going?!"

Well, my lord, I put out my hand and he's got a big "bragging piece" (euphemism for penis) like that in his hand!

(pp. 64-65)

Mills suggests that the performance of such stories—unusual in mixed and relatively genteel company—was an act laden with multiple messages operating on sociopolitical and symbolic dimensions. She points further, beyond the immediate context, to the "intricacy and coherence with which values relating to religion, governance, personal ethics, and sexuality were intertwined" in Afghan culture.

In her theoretical discussion, Mills gives us, among other things, a folklorist's perspective on postmodern social science. Long before ethnographers, she rightly notes, folklorists were "respectful of the verbal integrity and semiotic self-sufficiency of texts." Mills's insights into the ways a story can be in dialogue with itself, and in juxtaposition with other stories, illuminate her materials. They also contribute to current reformulations of contextuality and transtextuality emerging at the churning confluence of linguistics, folklore, anthropology, and literary criticism.



Most of the book includes translations of performed stories followed by interpretive discussions that treat at least that story's meanings and messages as motivated within the immediate setting. Often Mills takes us on fascinating excursions through broader contexts, including literary sources.

The book holds much to enjoy and much to learn. Although Mills's analysis is appropriately rooted in the complex dynamics of one performance, she also convincingly connects this single odd occasion with broader themes in Afghan culture, history, and politics at large: "The stories are a window onto a complex vision of noninstitutional moral authority and autonomy, intensely egalitarian . . ." Thus Mills significantly enhances our understanding not only of oral narratives, but of a people and cultural universe whose voices and images have rarely come to us so richly and sympathetically portrayed.

ANN GRODZINS GOLD  
Cornell University

# THE KABUL TIMES

## Presidential decree on promotions

President of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani has issued the following decree on grant of periodic promotion of civil servants and military officers on April 28.

The Islamic State of Afghanistan approves the following in honour of the first anniversary of victory of Islamic Revolution in Afghanistan:

— The periodic promotion of the civil and military employees which used

to be carried out on August 19th should be granted on the April 28 every year thereafter:

— With the enforcement of this decree the amendment of article 24 of the law on state employees is declared abolished.

— The decree is in force from the date of its ratification and published in the Official Gazette.

**Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani, President of the Islamic State of Afghanistan.**

5/2 ...

THE KABUL TIMES  
Published by  
Aberuni Publishing  
House.  
Tel: 62022

Editor-in-Chief.  
A. Ghafoor Shukoori  
Tel: 61847  
Kabul, Afghanistan

## Photo exhibition opened

To welcome the 1st anniversary of the Afghan Jihad victory, a photo exhibition, organized by the Bakhtar Information Agency, was opened by information and Culture minister Mohammad Seidq Chakari, in the hall of that ministry.

Th isdev elo pm entwill our and black-and-white

pieces shot by Afghan photo-journalists depicting the achievements of the Mujahideen, the bestial crimes by the Russian red army against our people and country and the meetings of the leaders of the Islamic State with the people and leaders of the foreign countries 5/2

## Realities must be taken serious

Though the Kabul citizens seem to carry out their routine peaceful activities but their minds are confronted with doubts of another military threat in the capital city.

What really puts in question the present drive for peace in Kabul is the fact that almost six weeks have elapsed since the conclusion of the Islamabad Agreement, however, no news is available on the proclamation of the cabinet and prime minister-designate has not so far been to attain latest views and consultations of all the tanzim leaders in this respect.

These problems have added to the doubts of the citizens thinking over the possibility of other skirmishes and hostilities in the capital city, experiences have shown that since the triumph of the Islamic Revolution lightest differences of views have repeatedly turned the Kabul city the site of severest military hostilities among the sides. The people ask whether the doors are still

open for reaching understanding through dialogue and talks.

Frankly speaking, the Islamic State of Afghanistan has been sincerely trying its best since the last two months, to do away with war and maintain ceasefire in the capital city. The Islamabad Agreement could be cited as one of the achievements of these efforts by the Islamic State.

The representatives of the Islamic State of Afghanistan showed sincere cooperation with Jelalabad meeting and other meetings arranged for tackling issues through talks and reaching agreements on the formation of the cabinet. The President of the State met the prime minister designate in Pulicharkhi to discuss with him implementation of the Islamabad agreements. These agreements are indicators of the State's goodwill and sincere approach towards resolving issues.

Indeed the Islamic State is always for ensuring

peace and stability in the country and has tried its best not to engage in hostilities because this would surely lead to its discredit and shall loose its prestige among the masses. Due to these principles, the Islamic never wishes to resolve issues with the opposing forces through war and using military forces but solely through talks and dialogue.

However, the Islamic State is duty bound to defend peace and the security still exist possibilities of talks and dialogue between the state authorities and Engineer Mekmatyar for reaching understanding because both the sides reject war. Hopes are high that the sides readiness for reaching understanding and resolving issues shall succeed soon with the agreements of all the tanzim leaders, and the prime minister designate.

It is however necessary now that Engineer Hekmatyar not only as the leader of a tanzim but as the head of the government should approach the

issues based on objective realities and the high national interests of the country.

While Engineer Hekmatyar presented the list of his cabinet to the President the leaders of five tanzims complained that he did not consulted their views about the cabinet asking the President of the country to take in to account their views in this respect.

The suffering people of Kabul city and the political observers share the view that despite the prevailing problems over the formation of the cabinet they do not expect that Engineer Hekmatyar would repeat the previous experiences of meaningless hostilities.

They do expect the prime minister designate at the moment to receive the views and consultations of the leaders of the Jihadi tanzims while preparing the list of his cabinet taking into account the present realities and the national high interest of the nation, APRIL 27, 1983

# HIGHER STUDIES, A MUST

Lecturers of the Kabul University and the Polytechnical Institute continue to get together at the Commerce Lycee located at a central point of Kabul discussing grounds for reopening of the higher institutions in the capital.

The question is as to how these far institutions shall remain closed forcing the lecturers and the students to wander about.

Built 27 years back, the Kabul Polytechnical Institute is one of the most valuable research and scientific training centre in the country functioning along with other higher training institutions has remained closed during the past years due to persistent hostilities within the warring sides. A commission has been formed of late to study the reopening of this and other higher training institutions in the city.

Prof. Dr. Mohammad Hassan Hamid lecturer of

the Kabul Polytechnical Institute who has a 21-years working record in the Institute has told the BIA that the reopening of the Kabul Polytechnical Institute has been one of the most valuable tasks.

This is because the institute is the only professional academic training centre in the country which is training specialists and professional cadres in varying fields of science and technology. The Institute has been able to train over four thousand cadres of high calibre in different engineering and construction fields who are serving people.

"Moreover, the Institute is not only a training centre but a cultural-scientific research centre as well. Its closure, indeed, brings about immense problems for under developed and war-torn Afghanistan whose national economy has sustained considerable losses due to the long war in the country, he said.

Engineer Abdul Baqi lecturer of the Mines and Geology Faculty of the Institute said, having good possibilities at its disposal, the Kabul Polytechnical Institute has the possibility to train professional cadres in different fields of science and thus considerably contribute towards reconstruction of the country.

The Institute has three faculties - Construction, Geology, Mines and Electro-Mechanics and 200 lecturers 60 of whom have doctorate degrees and others masters serve in it. It enrolls more than 2000 students.

A lecturer of the Construction Faculty of the Institute said, "though the former Soviet State during its aggression in Afghanistan tried to use the Institute for their political objectives as in other spheres but they failed to achieve their goals. Now that our Mujahid nation has triumphed in Afghanistan, we must forget the past bitter experiences

and work hard for the revival and development of such scientific centres.

Having 27-years working records in the Institute, Dr. Amir Gul lecturer of Geology and Mines Faculty has said, "we are hopeful that the higher authorities would pay attention to the revival of this great scientific centre to enable the young students to receive training in it and serve their kward nation."

"The higher studies institutions must continue functioning and remain open before the lecturers and the students to pursue their studies. We are hopeful that the assigned commission shall succeed in reviving the higher studies centres as the lecturers and the students and the countrymen at large wait for their reopening and functioning in the capital city" pointed out Dr. Mohammad Azam Yunus lecturer of the Electro-mechanic faculty of the Kabul Polytechnic Institute to BIA. 4/18

## New order on service absence

Order no. 018 dated 25 12 1371 HS of the Defence Minister of the Islamic State of Afghanistan on the servicemen of the armed forces units.

In an effort to meet the requirements of absence units and detachments of the armed forces and to write off the absence period of the servicemen I issue the following order:

1- Those servicemen of the armed forces who have deserted off their units due to various reasons as of 8th of Saur i.e. following the triumph of the Islamic Revolution can refer to the organisational department of the Defence Ministry and pursue completion of formalities.

2- The organisational department shall introdu-

ce the servicemen to their original units or one of the central units taking in view the requirements of the units in question.

3- The servicemen's absence period shall not be taken into account in their services period however they would not be punished legally.

4- The servicemen's previous service period and the continuation of their services after returning to their units shall be counted in their general service period.

5- The order shall be transferred to the related organs and shall be implemented accordingly.

Ahmad Shah Masoud, Defence Minister of the Islamic State of Afghanistan. 4/20 (BIA)

## New views on reconstruction

Engineer Ahmad Shah Ahmadzai Deputy Premier presided over a session of the council of ministers which was held in Gulshan Palace on Hamal 24:

The session debated matters related with the attraction of foreign experts for the reconstruction of the country and necessary measures were adopted there upon. The session also debated the travel of the state employees abroad and necessary instructions were given to the ministry of foreign affairs in this respect.

The session assigned a commission to adopt decisions on the proposal by

the Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reforms on changing the name of that ministry to the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation.

Meanwhile the session decided that the issues of the ordinary and the development budgets of the current year should be referred to a high commission for economic affairs.

At the end, the travel report of Abdul Rahim Karimi Minister of construction Affairs was read out and the reconstruction protocol of Hairatan-Sheberghan, Maimana, and Herat was assessed.

4/20 (BIA)

## Flights schedule for Haj pilgrimage

"Ariana Afghan Airline (AAA) is ready to carry Afghan pilgrims by its 46 flights to Jeddah and the first batch of Afghan Hajis will be flown on Saur 11."

Stating the above Engineer Ruhullah Aman President of the AAA in an interview told BIA. "The representative of our company participated regularly in the sessions of the committee for arranging Haj affairs and the programmes on Kabul-Jeddah flights have already been communicated to Saudi Arabia and other related countries".

"Our company has two Boeing (727-100), three Boeing (727-200), one Tupolev (154-5) and two other small aircrafts. It purchased three Boeing (727-200) from Air France on October 22, 1992", he remarked.

He went on to say that as a result of the recent incidents our small aircrafts were badly damaged and there was no flight between Kabul and other provinces except Kabul-Mazar-i-Sharif. Our two small aircrafts were sent for repair to the Commonwealth countries.

"Our company is a member of IATA and the air ticket of our company is valid claim among the member countries. he mentioned.

"Our aircraft and the passengers travelling by our flights are under insurance. Our company pay more insurance fee in the war conditions" he added. 4/18 (BIA)

## Presidential Decree envisages more facilities for refugees

The Presidential Press Service reported, President of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani has issued the following decree to help the return home of those countrymen that have left the country for various reasons since April 28, 1992 and have settled abroad:

In conformity with the Great Mohammadan Shariah and the laws of the Islamic State of Afghanistan as well as in view of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the following decree of the President of the Islamic State of Afghanistan is issued:

### Article One:

Those countrymen who have left the country for various reasons since April 28 1992, have settled abroad temporarily or permanently or are living in refuge can come back home to visit their relatives and check their proper-

ties and belonging here. They can have passport with their approach to the political missions or consulates of the Islamic State of Afghanistan abroad. Further they can go back to the countries they desire, by using this passport.

### Article Two:

The political missions and consulates of the Islamic State of Afghanistan abroad are bound to issue passport to the Afghan citizens upon their approach or to extend their term as per article 73 of the Law on Passport.

The passport is issued or its term of validity extended against the payment of the cost or the fee fixed.

### Article Three:

The political missions and the consulates of the Islamic State of Afghanistan are bound to register in the page for observations of the passports of

such individuals the number of the decree and the aim of their travel specifically.

### Article Four:

Those in-charge in the borders and in airports are bound to return the passports of such individuals to their holders after register.

### Article Five:

The Ministry of Interior is bound to issue exit visa to these individuals, if no notification as regards the commitment of illegal activities by these individuals in the period of their stay in Afghanistan has been received by its concerned offices.

### Article Six:

This decree runs into force after approval and is published in the official gazette.

Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani, President of the Islamic State of Afghanistan.

4/10

## 500 Afghan children treated in Germany

The German Peace Village Association has till date treated 500 Afghan disabled children in Germany, whose treatment seemed impossible inside the country, said Mr. Ronald Gigan, Chairman of the Peace Village who is currently visiting Kabul in a talk to the BIA correspondent.

As a protocol signed with the Afghan Red Crescent Society (ARCS). Mr. Ronald said, the German Peace Village Association has been delivering its aid to the war-hit people of Afghanistan through the ARCS for four years now.

He said that his association intended to widen the extent of its assistance

to Afghanistan, say, 5000 cartons of food, weighing 65 tons and including one ton clothes and one ton medicines has been recently assisted to the ARCS.

The German Peace Village Association, he pointed out, has plan to send another batch of Afghan disabled children for treatment in Germany apart from the pre-cluded plan. For this purpose, an Ariana Airliner is going to be chartered to fly the Afghan children to Germany.

He wished that peace shall return to Afghanistan at the soonest and more assistance be lent to Afghan children.

4/10 (BIA)

## Afghanistan economic revival strategy under way

The process for formulating the strategy for economic revival of Afghanistan, which covers the rehabilitation of irrigation, agriculture, industry, transportation, social services etc, is under way with the cooperation of the UNDP experts in Kabul, said Minister of Planning, Hujat-ul-Islam Sayed Mohammad Ali Jawid.

To attract the foreign aid for the projects covered by the draft plan, contacts have been made with some of the countries and international institutions as far as possible.

The Minister hoped that at the draft strategy might be finalized in a couple of months and presented to the UN Secretary General, for financing envisaged projects. 4/10

# Cement factory to start production

Our reporter interviewed Sayed Mustafa Sayedi, President of the Ghouri Cement Plant.

The Ghouri Cement Plant began its production in 1962 meeting the domestic requirements for the past 31 years. It produced 400 tons of high quality cement daily under the trademark of "Portland-450". However, for some time it continued production without basic repairs. As it is seen, the main systems of the plant are worn-out causing persistent defects and decreasing production considerably. The situation continued due to the fact that the country needed cement and the plant could not attain its required parts.

The plant produced 131-78 tons cement of which 381 tons have been transported to Kabul city.

The fact that there is a demand with the passage of time, it could produce some cement however due to problems that the consumers were unable to transfer them the produced cement pilled up in its warehouses forcing the plant to stop production.

The plant produced 32489 tons during the nine months of the previous year and it produced 13178 tons during the past year showing a decrease of 193-11 tons during the same period.

It could implement its production plan by 30 percent and continued its functioning after the triumph of the Islamic Revolution unfortunately.

However, the plant has been encountering varying problems in the past years and now due to the lack of power energy and non-availability of required spare-parts unabling the plant to meet its plan targets.

To tackle the problems, a competent delegation composed of the leading staff of the plant and the representatives of the

Mines and Industries visited Pakistan to conduct talks with the machine-tools producing factories in that country seeking their cooperation in this respect.

The visit of the Afghanistan delegation convinced the Pakistani side to prepare a sufficient quantity of spare-parts required by the Ghouri Cement Plant. Moreover, we expect that by return of the Czech experts to Afghanistan the new project of the plant shall start production and its old plant would undergo basic repairs to enable the plant to revive its 400 tons daily production anew.

Distribution plans are being prepared by the Mines and Industries every year and the plant act accordingly.

The state consumers usually sign protocols and thus transport their required cement quota. It should be noted that the transport process during the past year was rather slow as they could transport only 3762 tons out of 11996 cement ordered by the state sector. The remaining portion of cement was transported by the private sectors and individuals during the period.

The distribution plan envisages 7000 tons of cement quota for provinces such as Kabul, Baghlan, Kunduz, Takhar, Badakhshan, Balkh, Samangan etc.

A bag of cement as been sold out to both the state and private sector and individuals at Afs. 3000 fixed by the state authorities.

Besides the salary, upon and lunch allowances workers of the plant are entitled to benefit from the encouraging fund, free medical assistance, residential quarters and cloths and annual balance allowance.

Initially the plant had built a small residential quarter which could

not meet the requirements of the workers. Later, six four-storey residential blocks having 2,3 and 4 rooms had been constructed which can meet the requirement of the workers. The Ghouri Cement Plant intends to build another 11 four-storey residential blocks which shall completely resolve the requirement of all the workers of the plant. The plant currently runs a school as well. Plan for building another school would enroll 15000 students and a mosque at the residential site are underway in the future. Sayedi pointed out.



Eng. Sayed Mustafha  
Sayedi. 4/27

## To assess state functions

A supervisory committee of the Attorney General's Office was formed recently to assess functioning of the state departments as per a decree of Ustad Burhanuddin Rabbani President of the Islamic State of Afghanistan and provision of articles 2 and 22 of the Attorney General's law on organisation.

It is expected that the representatives of the supervisory committee would be sent to the state ministries and organisations and begin their work therein.

While meeting the me-

mbers of the committee Sayed Abdul Razzaq Mu-Samim first deputy have of the Attorney General's Office said that the members of the committee are dutybound to ensure Islamic Justice and prevent crimes in full compliance with the objectives of the Islamic State of Afghanistan.

He asked them to show sincerity in carrying their assigned tasks and approach the issues with Islamic and patriotic spirit as social justice is being fully ensured within the state departments.

4/27 (BIA)

## Wheat purchase approved

The High Economic Commission of the Council of Ministers met on Sunday to assess, in accordance with a Presidential instruction, the protocol on purchase of 100,000 tons of wheat for Silo No 5 and Central Silo, reported the press service. The session was chaired by Hamidullah Tarzi, Minister without Portfolio and attended by representatives of the Ministries of Finance, Commerce, Transport, Light Industries and Foodstuffs, Agriculture, Water and Power Planning, the Da Afghani-

stan Bank and Balkh Silo. After a serious assessment, the session approved the protocol on purchase of 100,000 tons of wheat between Mohammad Ibrahim Co. Ltd. and Balkh Silo, the need to purchase 50,000 tons of wheat for Balkh Silo and 50,000 tons for Central Silo.

Moreover, the session decided that the Ministries of Light Industries and Foodstuffs, Finance and the central bank should procure the money resources for this purchase.

(BIA)

# Peasants' jubilee marked

The traditional Peasants' Day was marked in a ceremony on April 1 with a message of Ustad Burhanuddin Rabbani President of the Islamic State of Afghanistan.

Organized by the Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reforms it was attended by some cabinet ministers, top-ranking state officials and some employees of the ministry of agriculture and land reforms and heads and some members of cooperatives, farmers and cattle breeders of Kabul.

It was begun with recitation of some verses from the Holy Quran by Qari Wegar. Mohammad Ibrahim Wareschi, Head of the presidential office for international relations department read out the message of Ustad Burhanuddin Rabbani.

The message reads in part:

"Thanks to God, the Almighty we are observing Peasants' Day this year under conditions that the Afghan nation has broken the yoke of foreign domination and did away with a regime dependent to foreign powers and established an Islamic rule in the heroic land of the Afghans."

"The Islamic State is prepared to design such plans on the basis of which agricultural activities shall be organised and revived, production boosted and the peasants problems solved. These plans also include attraction of cooperation of the peasants, improvement of feeder roads and connection of the rural regions with the cities. This shall also prove very useful in augmenting agricultural production and strengthening of the peasants' living standards and the national economy at large.

"With the help of God, the Almighty the Islamic State of Afghanistan will in the first step try to ensure a permanent link between the rural regions with the main cities and pursue programmes for expansion of agricultural services to enable the peasants boost their production quantitatively and qualitatively, assures the presidential message.

Later, Minister of Agriculture and Lands Reforms congratulated the peasants of the country on their festival wishing them successes in their activities in the light of the Islamic order in Afghanistan.

Touching on the imperfections of this sector in the past years, the minister asked for short and long-term programmes of the Islamic State and attraction of foreign assistance for revival of

irrigation networks and other agricultural systems throughout the country.

Kabul Governor, Qazi Sayed Aman also addressed the audience, touching on the problems the peasants of Kabul province are confronted with, drawing the attention of the state leadership to tackling them.

Later prizes were handed over to the peasants and cattle breeders who have achieved marked services in augmenting agricultural production and breeding of cattle.

The ceremony was concluded with sport shows.

4/15



## UN aid called for

## displaced citizens

Minister of Planning Hujat-ul-Islam Sayed Mohammad Ali Jawid met in his office recently with Mr. Martin Barbur, head of the office for coordinating UN economic and humanitarian assistance programme relating Afghanistan and Mr. Sharrier Head of the World Food Programme, Kabul office.

Mr. Barbur and Mr. Sharrier talked in detail on the programme of their work, ie, aiding the displaced inhabitants and families in various precincts of Kabul.

In his turn, Minister of Planning expressed thanks over the assistance by the United Nations and its specialized agencies in rebuilding Afghanistan and their emergency aid schemes.

He also gave an account

of the pitiable living conditions and needs of the inhabitants in the most war-hit areas such as Chehilsiton Kartesheh, Khushal Khan, Silo, Jamali Meena, Dehmazang, Shah Shahid, Karte Nau Rahman Meena, Qalai Zaman Khan, Arzan Qemat, Guzargah, Darulaman, Qalai Wahed and Dashti Barchi. He promised every cooperation on the part of the Islamic State for full realization of the UN aid programme to the displaced citizens.

(BIA)

4/27



An old peasant in his farmland in Kabul.

# CHRONOLOGY

5/1 - AFGHANews (Jamiat) - Iran will give \$300,000 to establish a refugee camp near Herat (see p.17).

- Col (Ret.) Dost Moh'd, Masood's father, died recently in an accident on the Islamabad-Peshawar highway. He was 85.

5/2 - KT - Pres. Rabbani issued a decree allowing periodic promotions of civil servants & military officers (see p. 32).

- ACBAR News Summary #5 - Talks among mujahideen leaders began in Jalalabad.

5/4 - PT - In the Jalalabad talks, the Defense Ministry is the major obstacle. Rabbani wants to keep the Ministry under Masood while Hekmatyar wants it to go to a neutral person who has not played any role in the Afghan fighting. Hekmatyar's Hezb has blocked the east, south & west roads into Kabul.

5/5 - ACBAR News Summary #5 - UNOCHA plans to clear 10 million sq. meters of priority land; survey & mark 25m sq.m. of mined areas & give mine awareness training to 330,000 people in 25 districts of Afghanistan. [For more on mines, see p. 21.]

5/7 - Bulletin du Ceredaf #91 - Former Afghan Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil was refused political asylum in Switzerland although he may stay there temporarily.

5/8 - PT - There is renewed fighting in Kabul. Reportedly, the battle began over a bicycle, supposedly stolen from a Shi'ite civilian two days ago.

5/9 - PT - The power in Kabul, restored for 10 days after a 2-month blackout, went off again. The Jalalabad meetings continue.

5/11 - Bulletin du Ceredaf #91 - A bomb hit the National Museum in Kabul. [We heard that the Museum burned for 4 days.]

5/12 - ACBAR News Summary #5 - A large number of people demonstrated in Jalalabad & demanded that the Nangarhar Shura not allow the mujahideen leaders

to leave the city until they reached an agreement on the formation of a representative Afghan cabinet.

5/14 - PT - Mujaddedi, frustrated over the Jalalabad talks, recommended a Loya Jirgah (see p. 9 ).

5/17 - NYT - Kabul was raked by rockets again. The Red Cross estimated that 600 have been killed in the latest fighting & that Kabul's main hospitals had treated over 3,000 people since the fighting intensified last Wednesday. Many injured have been sent to hospitals in Jalalabad & Peshawar.

- PT - Dostam's 53rd tank division began a counter-attack against rival factions in Kabul. Dostam's participation with Masood in this battle for control of Kabul ended speculation about who's side Dostam was on. Masood has squeezed Hekmatyar out of Parwan & Kapisa, but Hekmatyar has captured key government posts in Darulaman.

5/21 - PT - Agreement yesterday at Jalalabad: Masood will hand the Defense Ministry over to an interim commission headed by Rabbani; Hekmatyar will head the committee running the Interior Ministry; each of the 9 parties will have 2 cabinet posts; a commander's council (2 from each province) will meet to appoint permanent Defense & Interior Ministers within 2 months. (See Pp. 6 & 7.)

5/23 - Frontier Post -



5/23 - PT - Rabbani met with Pakistani Pres. Ghulam Ishaq Khan to brief him on the Jalalabad agreements. Rabbani also met with Pakistani Prime Minister Mazari & the two agreed in principle to set up joint commissions in the fields of narcotics control, anti-terrorism & economic cooperation.

5/24 - PT - Rabbani announced that all the leaders of the Jihadi forces have agreed to deposit their heavy weapons with the commission created at Jalalabad. Another commission has been set up to arrange for Hekmatyar's assumption of the Prime Minister's office in Kabul.

5/25 - PT - Sacrificial meat for the up-coming Eid-ul- Adha will arrive from Saudi Arabia on 6/1 for distribution to Afghan refugees in Quetta & Peshawar.

6/1 - AFGHANews - This year, 3,126 Afghans were flown to Jeddah on 21 special Ariana flights to perform Hajj. The hajis had to pay their own expenses - over \$2,000 each.

- Pakistan arrested over 50 Arab youth in Peshawar (see p. 17).

- PT - Tajikistan warned that it was prepared to "conduct revenge bombings against the men & equipment from the Tajik opposition now in Afghanistan." Russian border positions were shelled last Saturday by heavy artillery from Afghanistan. Three Russian guards were killed, 4 injured.

6/5 - PT - A former Afghan parliamentarian said that the Afghan Gov't had been bombing the Hekmatyar-controlled Naflo & Sarobi dams on the Kabul River, severely damaging them. He predicted that further damage would cause heavy flooding along the river & in the Peshawar valley.

6/6 - PT - Hekmatyar called his first cabinet meeting at his headquarters in Charasiab but only the Finance & Trade Ministers (both Hezb) showed up. A Rabbani spokesman said the meeting was premature; Hekmatyar has not yet been sworn in. He also said the meeting should take place in Kabul, although Hekmatyar may not feel safe there at this time.



6/14 - PT - The peace committee (set up in Jalalabad) announced that a ceasefire was being observed in almost all wards of Kabul, although they were investigating reports of trouble in the south & southwest parts of the city.

6/15 - PT - Pakistan will renegotiate the Afghan Transit Trade Agreement with Afghanistan (see p. 9 ).

6/16 - PT - Mudslides in Kabul killed 100 & swept away 250 houses (see p. 10 ).

6/18 - PT - Hekmatyar & a 13-member cabinet were sworn in yesterday by Rabbani in a ceremony in Paghman which is under Sayaf's control. The 2 ministers from Khalis's party & the 2 from Wahdat did not attend. Hekmatyar said the cabinet would start functioning in Kabul tomorrow but that his office would be in Darulaman.

6/19 - PT - Another coup attempt? (See p. 10 ).

6/20 - NYT - Sadako Ogata, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, will summon representatives from the world's richest countries to ask if they are willing to continue paying the bill for refugee support.

Nations and nongovernmental groups have provided only a third of the \$475 million that the High Commissioner wants to spend helping refugees return home to Afghanistan, where 14 years of civil war and more recent fighting between rival Muslim factions in a new Government has driven millions from their homes.

Mrs. Ogata is uncertain about what she can expect this year from the United States, which was her agency's biggest source of funding last year with a contribution of \$240 million. The United States has contributed \$97 million so far in 1993, only a third of the \$280 million it must provide if it is to continue shouldering 22 percent of the refugee bill.

6/26 - PT - Over 100 rockets landed on Kabul yesterday, killing 12 & injuring 24. Most landed north & west of the city but one hit the presidential palace. The Gov't blamed Hezb-i-Wahdat. The power is still off.

6/29 - PT - UNHCR reported that the return of Afghan refugees from Pakistan has slowed since Eid-ul-Adha. However, the area around the capital of Nimroz Province is free from mines & the UN plans to initiate programs there.

#### FARHADI ADDRESSES SECURITY COUNCIL

UN members not on the Security Council were invited to address the Council's 6/29/93 meeting on the situation in Bosnia & Herzegovina. Dr. Rawan Farhadi, Afghanistan's Ambassador to the United Nations, drew parallels with Afghanistan. Here are some excerpts from his speech:

... The international community never tires of hiding behind methods of compromise & accommodation, of engaging in machinations & deals at the expense of a single victim nation. And it goes even further: it has as much regard for the person who rapes as for the person who is raped. Deprived of the means of defending itself, a country fights for its honor - & thus for the honor of the human being, of Europe & of the int'l community - while the aggressor is already armed to the teeth... This is, of course, a way for the great Powers of the world just to let things happen & let things alone, going so far as to become witnesses - so-called impartial witnesses - to the carnage committed against the moral & spiritual conscience of mankind... Let us put an end to all this mentality & this attitude, examples of which we see in the case - among others - of my country, Afghanistan. A large part of the documents coming from the UN on the invasion of Afghanistan by the former Soviet Union were characterized by this mentality of arranging texts in such a way as to make a fundamentally unequal equation between the aggressor & the victim of the aggression.

That left 1,700,000 victims in Afghanistan, & almost totally destroyed the country's economy. And now, after the end of the cold war, life is hell in Bosnia, where the Muslims are suffering the same kind of carnage as took place in Afghanistan.

Thus, does the end of the cold war mean that small nations are to be sacrificed at the altar of a peace arranged between the large nations? Are we now in a phase of history when witnessing the death throes of a people has become the habitual attitude of the powerful of our world? During the past few months, every time a positive solution has been put forward in the form of an idea or a draft, every time a particular method has evolved & has been judged effective, its adoption has been postponed because one, two or three great Powers have not had the agreement of their Gov't. This is procrastination established in the form of indecision, of obvious lack of determination hidden under the pretext of realism & even so-called wisdom. All this has turned the Security Council into a semi-attentive spectator that closes its eyes to genocide & war crimes...

It will soon be half a century since the UN was established. The Organization has, to be sure, rendered important service to mankind. But in regard to formerly occupied Afghanistan, in regard to Bosnia, the victim of ethnic - or, actually, religious - aggression, the Security Council has been an instrument for depriving the victim of the possibility of obtaining the means to defend itself. If that is indeed the role of this principal organ of the UN, the conscience of mankind will have to quote the following Arab proverb to the Organization: "You are certainly in a valley, but I am in quite another one." But the conscience of mankind & the conscience of this Organization should be together, in the same valley. It is up to the great Powers to bring this about.

په خداي کوي  
خده به وشي خو  
دلو بني کونه  
تنهک و تره

Trust in God,  
but tie  
your camel.

# New Peace Accords signed in Jalalabad

After three weeks of talks, the Mujahideen leaders signed an agreement on the formation of a cabinet May 18 in Jalalabad. This agreement explained the vague points of the Islamabad accords, signed on March 7.

The leaders agreed on appointing 18 ministers, two from each party, and decided that the ministers of defense and interior be appointed by a council of field commanders. Each province will send two commanders to the council and appointment of the ministers should be completed within two months from signing the accords. Until then, the defense and interior ministries will be run by councils representing all parties. The defense council be headed by President Rabbani and the council of interior ministry by Prime Minister Hikmatyar.

The leaders agreed to form a High Council comprising nine party leaders and 21 other religious and social personalities chosen by the leaders. The council will act as the parliament.

Dozens of all-party commissions have been formed to do specific jobs such as monitoring the ceasefire and the distribution of food and fuel.

They leaders also agreed that the heavy weapons should be taken from the parties and be given to the defense ministry.

The need for holding the Jalalabad talks became pressing when the Prime Minister-Designate failed to form a cabinet acceptable to the majority of the parties. President Rabbani abstained from endorsing the proposed cabinet because it was opposed by at least five parties.

To force President Rabbani to accept his cabinet list, Hikmatyar ordered an economic blockade of Kabul. The power was also cut. Realizing the gravity of the situation, some Mujahideen leaders began mediatory efforts to resolve the issue.

President Rabbani reached Jalalabad via Peshawar on April 30. He

was given a warm welcome at the border. The first round of talks were held on April 30. The Ningarhar council of commanders asked the leaders not to leave the building in which they were holding talks due to security reasons. Each leader was allowed to keep five of his advisors and bodyguards. There were speculations that the leaders were prisoners of the Ningarhar Council of Commanders. Some leaders announced they would not leave Jalalabad before reaching an agreement. Their explication, however, failed to convince even their followers. Haji Qadeer told reporters that the leaders had decided to stay in Jalalabad until finding a solution to the problem. It is interesting that students demonstrating in front of the residences of the leaders were demanding that the Ningarhar Council of Commanders not allow the leaders to leave the city before reaching an agreement. These demonstrations were not spontaneous but organized by the Council of Commanders.

The building in which the leaders stayed was surrounded by hundreds of heavily armed troops loyal to Haji Qadeer, the governor of Ningarhar. The envoys of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan and journalist were not allowed to meet with the leaders. Students, orphans, amputees, tribal elders and religious scholars demonstrated in front of the leaders' residence. Their representatives were allowed to meet with the leaders and advise them to reach an agreement. They blamed the leaders for all the problems facing the country. These humiliating scenes were repeated day after day. A group of amputees had erected a camp in front of the residences of the leaders and shouted their demands through a loudhailer.

Haji Qadeer seemed to be behind this ugly drama. As time passed, Hikmatyar also got involved. Qazi Amin, deputy leader of Hezb, for example, served as the spokesman of a group of demonstrators. Hezb also has a strong influence among the school teachers in Ningarhar and without their cooperation the students would not have been dragged into these political demonstrations.

Haji Qadeer said leaders must reach a reasonable agreement in

Jalalabad. If they failed to do so, a Jirga comprising commanders, tribal elders, Ulama and intellectuals should meet in Jalalabad and decide about the future of the country. He had proposed calling 40 people from each province (10 commanders, 10 intellectuals, 10 religious scholars and 10 tribal elders) to come to Jalalabad for this purpose.

These moves by the Ningarhar Council of Commanders drew different reactions from different circles. Supporters of the former king supported these moves. They even sent a delegation to Jalalabad to hold talks with Pir Gailani. In case the Mujahideen leaders failed to reach an agreement, a traditional Jirga (tribal gathering) would be called which in return could invite the the former king to return to Afghanistan.

Were there any foreign hand behind the decisions of Haji Qadeer? It is not a secret that ISI has a strong influence among the commanders in Ningarhar and that organization is notorious for meddling in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. ISI could not have remained inactive when the talks were being held in Jalalabad the organizer of which was the Ningarhar Council of Commanders. Some Afghans cheered when the ambassadors of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia were not allowed by Qadeer to meet the leaders. They interpreted it as a move to cut foreign hands from the affairs of Afghanistan. This way of thinking was simplistic. ISI is not happy with involvement of the Foreign Ministry of Pakistan in the affairs of Afghanistan and diplomatic channels are less dangerous than involvement of secret organization.

Another interesting development was the emergence of Farouq Azam, a ex-deputy of Pir Gailani, as the head of the peace committee. He lived in Pakistan after the fall of the communist regime and surfaced in Jalalabad during the talks and somehow was accepted as the spokesman of the leaders and their secretary. He was given the portfolio of the Minister of Reparation of Refugees and was chosen as a member of the election commission. Although he tries to pose as a neutral person, he is believed to be close to Hikmatyar.

It seemed commanders in Jalalabad were more interested in failure of the talks rather than its success but several developments took place which changed their position:

- Attempts to take Defense Minister Masood to Jalalabad did not work. He refused to go on the ground.

that President Rabbani was there and the security situation in Kabul did not allow to do so.

• Experiencing the conditions of living in Jalalabad, Professor Sayyaf refused to return to the talks. He had come with the delegation to invite Masood.

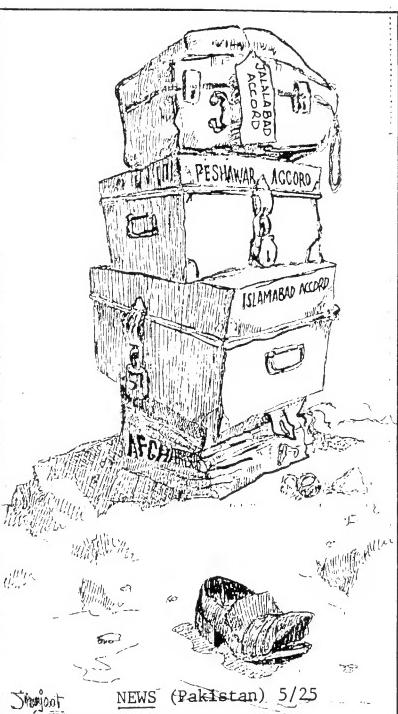
• The call for convening a Jirga was not welcomed by the provincial commanders from Kandahar, Paktia, Parwan, Kapisa. Other provinces also rejected this call and demanded transfer of the venue of talks from Jalalabad to Kabul. General Dostum also made a similar appeal.

A study of the Jalalabad agreement shows that it meets almost all the demands of Hekmatyar. The atmosphere of the talks and the policies of the Ningarhar Council of Commanders has had a positive effect on the outcome of the talks in favor of Hekmatyar.

A spokesman of the defense ministry said Ahmad Shah Masood accepted the Jalalabad agreement to deprive Hekmatyar from a pretext to continue bloodshed in the country.

Ten days have passed since the signing of the Jalalabad agreement but Hekmatyar has not entered Kabul and he has not held a cabinet meeting yet. Hekmatyar is hesitant to enter the city and wants to move the Prime Ministers' office outside the capital. He has proposed Darulaman Palace as an alternative place for his office.

President Rabbani returned to Kabul after meeting with Ghulam Ishaq

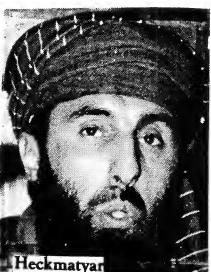


Khan in Islamabad. Hekmatyar returned to his base in Charasyab but most of the other leaders went to Pakistan.

Most of the appointed ministers are also out of the country.

After signing the Jalalabad agreement fighting in Kabul died down and power supply was restored giving the people of Kabul an opportunity to celebrate Eid in relative peace.

AFGHANews 6/1



Heckmatyar

Yet another agreement  
from *Mushahid Hussain* Islamabad

After 20 days of bitter political wrangling between different Afghan factions, the Mujahedin leadership managed to sign their first mutual peace accord at Jalalabad on 20 May since Kabul was captured from the old Marxist regime 15 months ago. Since then, there have been three Afghan accords, two brokered by Pakistan and one by the Afghans themselves.

Since the latest round of fighting began on 12 May, over 600 people have been killed, with different factions using fire-power to achieve their political goals. One of the sticking points of the Islamabad Accord was control of the defence ministry, previously vested in Ahmed Shah Masood, a close political ally of President Rabbani and by extension, an antagonist of Hekmatyar.

Some of the salient features of the 20 May Jalalabad Accord include:

- \* establishment of two commissions to run the defence and interior ministries respectively, with Rabbani heading the commission on defence and Hekmatyar heading the commission on the interior ministry. After two months commanders from all over Afghanistan will elect permanent ministers for these two crucial portfolios.

- \* a permanent country-wide ceasefire

- \* all highways will be opened for movement of goods and people.

- \* heavy weapons will be collected from all Afghan factions.

- \* two ministers each from the nine major factions will form the cabinet.

- \* an election commission will be established to hold elections for a representative council before the end of 1993.

However, major problems remain. The mistrust between Hekmatyar and Rabbani is so deep that Hekmatyar still cannot enter Kabul, although he told newsmen in Jalalabad: "I will start functioning in Kabul as prime minister in days, not in weeks."

Masood has not reacted to the agreement and should he choose to oppose it, it, like the previous two accords, could be scuttled. Then there is the problem of the northern Afghan strongman, General Rashid Dostum, who heads what is probably the best-armed Afghan faction (see p.16). On 23 May President Rabbani said in Islamabad that "after my return to Kabul, all the outstanding issues, including the position of General Dostum, will be amicably resolved". He also added that a special team will leave for Kabul within a few days to facilitate the return to the Afghan capital of Hekmatyar.

Another roadblock to durable peace and the rehabilitation and reconstruction of war-torn Afghanistan is the apparent lack of international concern. While the UN secretary-general is seeking to take an initiative on this count, so far the international community has been tardy in responding to pleas for assistance.

MEI — 28 May 1993

## Statement of the

KT 4/15 Islamic State

As noticed, our historic relics, which are an introduction to the historic culture, ancient civilization and moralities of the country have come under the attention of the foreign smugglers. A number of these smugglers, in collusion with some local opportunist elements, are infiltrating the country's ancient zones, undertaking excavations and illegally smuggling the findings.

For instance, recently a number of foreign mercenaries and nationals penetrated into one of the ancient cities of

the country, contrary to the international norms and the law on protection of historic relics of the Islamic State of Afghanistan. They are seeking to excavate the precious relics earthed there.

The Islamic State of Afghanistan instructs all the organs of Mujahideen and the security forces of the country to prevent the illegal excavations and smuggling of these historic relics of the country and to hand over the culprits to the concerned organs. (BIA)

# Afghan civilians flee first bombing since Red Army invasion

TAGOB (Afghanistan), June 15: The Afghan children huddled motionless in the noon-day sun, scattered among the desert boulders that yielded the most shade, and security, from the threat of falling bombs.

The fighting had been over for four days, but their families have refused to return to their homes an hour's drive up the valley, where the terraced fields of yellowing wheat look as if a giant dragon had clawed holes in them.

But there were no dragons, only high-flying jets whose pilots dropped deadly high-explosive and cluster bombs from such high-altitudes that they landed indiscriminately, wide of any target, and without warning.

"Even the Russians never bombed us during their occupation," said a shocked farmer, the head of one of 10 families sheltering in these mountains.

They sleep in the dust under the stars at night, wrapped in what blankets they could carry away and with a few chickens for company, cooking on open fires and drawing water from the mountain streams.

They came from Tagob, a small district headquarters east of Kabul

in Kapisa province, where they were caught in six weeks of bloody factional fighting between forces loyal to Afghanistan's Defence Minister and those loyal to the Prime Minister.

The ruins of Tagob are now in the hands of pro-defence ministry troops commanded by Ahmed Shah Masood. The next village down the valley is occupied by Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's Hezb-i-Islami guerrillas.

Frontline houses were cluttered with ammunition and military hardware but still intact, and Hezb crewmen made use of a true ceasefire to service the motors and clean the war machines.

The ceasefire seemed a pause not an end, and some village elders sneaked back in, but only to retrieve valuables left behind when they evacuated their homes 15 days before.

One elder, Watan Dost, said that just after the ceasefire had been agreed on a teenager—"I don't know how old he was, he was just starting to grow a moustache"—returned to this village for wheat, but was shot in the leg by Masood's men.

Watan Dost, who has since moved into a nomad's camp site in the mountains, said his house was hit by a rocket after the ceasefire was declared. In a similar violation he alleged his uncle was killed and two cousins wounded in a cluster-bomb air strike.

"You are not protecting our dignity and honour," Tagob locals protested to the Hezb guerrillas, who said they were under orders to hold their fire.

"We have successfully stopped them here, and we could kick them out of Tagob, but we have a tank crewmen made use of a true ceasefire," said Hezb area commander Izzatullah, based in the district headquarters of Sarobi some 25 kilometres to the south. Sarobi is controlled by Hezb, as Kabul's power source, the nearby Naghlu Hydro-Electric Dam. It also guards an important supply route to Prime Minister Hekmatyar's headquarters outside Kabul.

The belief is that Masood wants to cut the road to cut off his rivals to military supplies and reinforcements, and Izzatullah echoed the general Hezb party line that Masood has entered into an alliance with ex-communists in order

to seize power exclusively for himself.

"We saw many of the dead and wounded in the fighting were former communist regime soldiers, the same criminals we fought against the *Jehad* for 14 years," Izzatullah said, adding that "even the same pilots who bombed us in Najibullah's (communist) regime are bombing us again now."

Masood's soldiers, who come from the war-devastated Panjsher valley not far to the north, retort that under the communists the people of Tagob were party sympathisers, and as such immune to the Russian and Afghan communist bombs that flattened the Panjsher.

But for the women and children among the several thousand displaced persons from Tagob—no accurate count has been made and no relief organisation cares for their needs—there is no comfort in the argument.

Echoing the words of those in devastated Kabul, Watan Dost said of the Tagob conflict: "this is no longer *Jehad*. This is just a fight to grab power—and we are poor people caught in the middle".—AFP.

6/16

## Stagnation in Afghan oasis

MAZAR-I-SHARIF, (Afghanistan), June 7: The three Iranians were smoking the cheapest of Russian cigarettes, from which the tobacco always falls out, and nursing a sullen anger because the United Nations had refused them political refugee status.

For five months they had squatted inside a UN compound in this northern provincial capital, living in the Afghan night-watchman's room until frustrated staffers had them thrown out by soldiers.

"We are stranded. We can't return to Iran, the UN won't accept us, and the Afghans refuse to acknowledge our problem", they complain.

The Iranians are among a large population of asylum seekers in Mazar, which due to its relative

peacefulness has attracted not only Afghans from war-torn Kabul but also refugee Tajiks from central Asia, and Kurdish freedom fighters and dissident Arabs from as far away as Iraq.

This capital of Balkh province, about 430 kilometres north of the Afghan capital, has been spared the agonies of killing and destruction experienced in Kabul following the April 1992 mujahideen victory.

In contrast to the rocket and heavy artillery demolition of Kabul, Mazar is undergoing a building boom—two seven-storey super-bazaars are under construction with a host of new smaller shops filling the gaps.

These glass-fronted shops are full of imported luxury goods ranging from genuine and fake French perfumes to Japanese electronics gear, not to mention dubious Donald duck watches made in Russia.

Yet despite its neon-lit ice-cream parlours, cinemas, hotel swimming pool and the locals' enthusiasm for eight-ball pool, Mazar has a mostly provincial atmosphere, accentuated by its dung-ridden dust-covered roads.

Horse-carriages still compete with Russian-made taxis although it is not uncommon to see fat-tailed sheep being transported by the factions not shelling each Toyota pick-up trucks through the other", offers a taxi driver.—AFP

The real flags flying in Mazar are the red, green and black tricol-

ours resembling that of the defeated Moscow-backed Kabul from genuine and fake French regime, to which the dominant military faction in Mazar was once loyal.

The defection of these former pro-communist militia led by the Uzbek warlord Abdur Rashid Dostam spurred the mujahideen to victory, but today relations between the two groups in Mazar,

who make an outward show of friendship, is said to be tense, souring the otherwise sweetness of this northern oasis.

6/8

# PTA urges for withdrawal of Afghan transit facility

KARACHI, June 7: Pakistan Tea Association (PTA) has urged Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to issue immediate instructions to stop Afghan transit facility for such tea not consumed in Afghanistan, but are imported by Afghan importers for smuggling into Pakistan.

Presently about 90-100 containers are lying in Karachi Port, awaiting a clearance for Afghanistan and about 100 containers are lying in the producing countries purchased by Afghan traders.

The Association's Chairman Mohammad Hanif Janoo in a communication to the Prime Minister on Monday said that Pakistan tea imports were heavy revenue to customs. Total tea imports of the country are about 120 to 130 million kilograms annually.

He said since December 1992, it is observed from record of Pakistan Custom House, Karachi that

huge quantities of tea was arriving in Karachi under transit facility for Afghanistan which was smuggled back into Pakistan causing serious problem to Pakistani importers and heavy losses to Pakistan revenue.

The arrival of Afghan cargo was increasing day by day and if it was not stopped immediately, it may cause drop in Pakistan's tea imports.

He pointed out that genuine Pakistani importer pays 79 per cent duties, while no duty was applicable on Afghan transit imports including tea. This was driving genuine tea traders to verge of collapse as they were unable to compete with those involved in unfair trade practice.

According to PTA, government lost Rs. 25200000 in revenue during December 1992 only from tea imports under Afghan transit facility.—PPI PT 6/8

## Function held

A galant function was organized recently in Sadeeqi Lycee of Charikar city, Parwan, attended by the leading staff of the educational department, authorities of the State departments, commanders and some local residents, to welcome the 1st anniversary of the Islamic Revolution victory.

To begin with, head of Parwan Educational Department spoke on the subject, hailing the unexampled struggles and heroism of Mujahideen in 14 years of crusade and greeted the participants on the first anniversary of the Islamic Revolution. A number of teachers and students also spoke in this connection.

A batch of students performed patriotic pieces which haunted attention of the audience.

At the end, Agha Sherrin, a local command-

der handed over 30,000 Afis to some teachers and 20,000 Afis to the team of performers.

Another report shows that a similar function has been launched in Microrayon of Kabul attended by local notables.

KT 4/27

# Mujaddedi proposes Loya Jirga for Afghan settlement

PT Bureau

PESHAWAR, May 13: Former Afghan president Professor Sibghatullah Mujaddedi today expressed his frustration over the on-going talks of Afghan leaders in Jalalabad and came out with alternative suggestion for holding Loya Jirga of commanders, Ulema, elders, intellectuals to decide about the fate of Afghanistan. "A commission, should be formed to invite at least 2000 Afghans representing Ulema, commanders, intellectuals, elders from different parts of Afghanistan to sit in Jalalabad and give verdict about the formation of Government," Professor Mujaddedi told a press conference in Peshawar this

# Rabbani floats 3 proposals to end cabinet crisis

ISLAMABAD, May 10: Talks among the Mujahideen leaders were underway for the last 10 days in Jalalabad for the formation of new Afghan Cabinet.

The talks still remain inconclusive, though three new proposals were floated in the yesterday's meeting.

In the meeting President Rabbani proposed that the cabinet to be formed by the Prime Minister designate Engr. Gulbadin Hekmatyar and should get a vote of confidence from the Parliament which had been elected by Shoora Ahsa Hal-o-Aqd. He said if someone had any objection over this parliament, he could contact the Supreme Court in this connection.

Mr Hekmatyar proposed during the meeting that a Shoora be formed comprising nominees of various groups to run the important ministries like defence, interior and information.

He suggested that technocrats who have no affiliation with any group, be appointed against the vacant seats.

He proposed that a grand Shoora be constituted for the settlement of issues of national importance besides removing administrative differences between the Prime Minister and the President, till the

formation of the new parliament. The Chief of Mahaz-i-Milli, Pir Sved Ahmad Gilani proposed formation of Supreme Council till the establishment of parliament. He suggested that Supreme Council be formed under the supervision of the United Nations and OIC.

The Harkat-i-Inqilabi Chief Maulvi Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi said Defence Minister Ahmed Shah Masood and Gulbadin Hekmatyar, should vacate their seats for impartial personalities.

Meanwhile peace commission in Afghanistan has decided to convene a meeting of the Ulema, commanders and elders in case the Jalalabad talks failed to reach any consensus.

A member of the peace commission Dr. Siddique told BBC that he held meetings with Defence Minister and discussed with him the enforcement of ceasefire so as to avert the present infighting.

He said that the situation is conducive for unity in Afghanistan.—

PT 5/11



Sayyaf came to Jalalabad for the formation of the cabinet. It were only and Hizbi-Wahdat who reached Jalalabad for this purpose.

He said Rabbani government was not legal as it failed to protect life property and honour of the people in Afghanistan.

He recalled that he had signed the Islamabad Agreement with the reservation that the tenure of eighteen months should not be given to Rabbani and it should be only four months.

To a question he said, Dostam should also be given representation in the proposed Loya Jirga in Jalalabad as his role to overthrow Najib and his strength could not be ignored in Afghanistan.

# AFGHANISTAN FORUM

## CONTENTS



VOL. XXI

July 1993

NO. 4

Organizations.....	2
Chronology.....	3- 5
Jalalabad Meeting.....	6- 7
Items from <u>The Pakistan Times</u> .....	8-10
Other Clippings.....	11-24
Country Report on Afghanistan.....	12-15
The Malevolent Seven.....	25-27
Recent Publications.....	28
Book Reviews.....	29-31
Items from <u>The Kabul Times</u> .....	32-36

AFGHANISTAN FORUM, INC.  
201 EAST 71<sup>ST</sup> STREET, 2K  
NEW YORK, NY 10021

#### ABBREVIATIONS USED

- ACBAR - Agency Coordinating Bureau for Afghan Relief
- ARIC - ACBAR Resource & Information Centre
- BIA - Bakhtar Information Agency
- CSM - Christian Science Monitor
- ICRC - Int'l Committee of the Red Cross
- KT - Kabul Times
- LAT - Los Angeles Times
- MEI - Middle East Int'l
- NGO - Non-Governmental Organization
- NWFP - Northwest Frontier Province
- NYT - New York Times
- OIC - Organization of Islamic Conference
- PCV - Peace Corps Volunteer
- PT - Pakistan Times
- PVO - Private Voluntary Organization
- UNGA - United Nations General Assembly
- UNOCA - United Nations Office of the Commissioner for Afghanistan
- UNOCHA - United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Relief for Afghanistan
- UNHCR - United Nations High Commission for Refugees
- WSJ - Wall Street Journal
- WP - Washington Post

Line drawings from the 1982 calendar of the Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

Please send items for the AFGHANISTAN FORUM to

The Afghanistan Forum, Inc.  
201 East 71st Street, 2K  
New York, NY 10021, USA

The opinions expressed in the FORUM are those of the parties & publications involved & are not necessarily those of the Afghanistan FORUM. Listing of organizations does not necessarily imply endorsement.

Mary Ann Siegfried  
Editor & typist

Leonard Oppenheim  
Treasurer &  
proofreader

**Subscription rates:** \$25 per year for individuals  
6 issues/year \$35 per year for libraries & institutions  
Airmail Europe - \$35 Institutions - \$40  
Airmail Asia & Africa - \$40 " - \$50  
**ISSN** 0889-2148 Add \$5 per year for FORUM PAPERS